

A HISTORY OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN THE
FLORIDA STATE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM: 1868-1980

BY

LEONARD H. ROBERTS

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE COUNCIL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1981

Copyright 1981

By

Leonard H. Roberts

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother,
Mrs. Katie B. Roberts, for her confidence, patience,
and support.

Education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform.

John Dewey

The mood and temper of the public with regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country.

Sir Winston Churchill

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people for the successful completion of this work. Particular thanks are due to Gloria Ward, Teacher Education Administrator for the Florida Department of Corrections. Her knowledge and advice greatly aided in the writing and research of the manuscript. Elizabeth Alexander and Dr. Steve Kerber of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History of the University of Florida graciously made available to me essential books and documents relating to Florida history. Patricia Terry magically transformed my scratches and scribbles into beautiful finished copy. Members of my doctoral committee, Doctors Arthur Newman, Lyle McAlister, William Woodruff and James Wattenbarger, have exhibited a remarkable level of patience and understanding while I toiled away month after month on the dissertation manuscript. I am especially indebted to the chairman of my doctoral committee, Dr. Rodman Webb. Dr. Webb not only offered wise advice and guidance but gave me great amounts of his time in doing so. But most of all Dr. Webb instilled me with a feeling of self-confidence, spurring on my efforts to complete the dissertation. To him and all the others, my eternal gratitude. I would also like to express appreciation for the encouragement and support of Ella Francis, Noah Lindsay and Alice Thomas, librarians at the Learning Resource Center of Lake City Community College.

PREFACE

On June 23, 1981, Florida's Governor Bob Graham signed into law a bill for reorganizing the state's prison industries.¹ The new legislation authorized the transfer of the prison industries from the Department of Corrections to a newly created non-profit corporation named "Prison Enterprises, Education and Rehabilitation, Incorporated " (PEER). The purpose of the new corporation is to lease prison facilities and prison labor to private enterprise. According to PEER's articles of incorporation it was created to:

facilitate rehabilitation (of the state's convicted offenders) by providing a system of job training and placement for participating inmates to serve in relevant and meaningful jobs upon release, reducing the chances of recurring contact with the correction system. . . . To develop, establish and maintain a system of educational, vocational, industrial and rehabilitative programs in conjunction with free world enterprises to provide employment for inmates; these programs are to be operated and designed as profit-making, free enterprise ventures employing inmates and which will not result in any undue competition with private enterprise.²

The relationship between inmate education and prison industries can be traced as far back as the sixteenth century when European prison labor was first harnessed to industrial enterprises. Since then education has served as the major vehicle for improving the academic and vocational skills of inmates, and inculcating in them proper work habits such as punctuality, industriousness and sobriety. However, over the past four centuries many prison systems, with increasing revenues derived from newly skilled convict productivity, shifted from a concern for rehabilitating inmates to one of maximizing profits by exploiting convict labor. This

happened in Florida under the convict lease system. Prior to the introduction of the convict lease system in 1878, the Warden of the State Prison at Chattahoochee, established classes in adult basic education. When Reconstruction ended, the state's prisoners were leased out to private contractors for hard labor in the mines, plantations and forests of Florida. Prisoner reformation was tossed aside as the contractors drove the forced laborers to the limits of their endurance.

According to Gordon Carper, in his study of the convict lease system, Florida replaced convict reformation because of:

the need for a new forced labor system to replace slavery, the apathy and ignorance of the public, but perhaps most important, the unwillingness to spend hard earned dollars on criminal reformation combined to encourage the Bourbon Democrats . . . (to) turn (to) the convict lease system. At a time when many northern states were treating their penal problem as a "public interest," Florida began treating her prisoners as a "public charity." In the former consideration the motive demanded the best reformatory results, but in the latter, the motive demanded the least amount of net expense.³

Historically, the exploitation of prison labor has been supported and justified by rhetoric issuing from prison authorities and politicians aimed at misleading the public as to the true state of prisoner reformation. In 1883, Florida Governor William Bloxham (1881-1885; 1897-1901), a former slave owner and Bourbon Democrat, in his Annual Message to the State Legislature noted that "from being a large expense to the state under the former (state prison) system the convicts have become a source of revenue, while their improved condition shows they have been properly cared for."⁴ In contrast, another governor of the period, Henry L. Mitchell (1893-1897), a former Confederate Army officer, reported that the convict laborers "being in the (phosphate) mines with no one to look after their interests they are truly in a most deplorable condition."⁵

In approximately the past two decades, under the leadership of the Secretary of the Florida Department of Corrections, Louie L. Wainwright, the state has made giant strides in inmate rehabilitation through education, as this work will show. Nevertheless, those concerned with offender rehabilitation must continually monitor prison systems in order to ensure that progress in inmate rehabilitation will continue. As in the past, there are political and economic interests who claim to support rehabilitation but who really seek to turn the prisons into barbed wire enclosed plantations or industrial plants profitable to everyone but the convicts. Looking back over almost a half-century, Florida Agriculture Commissioner and head of the Florida State Prison, William A. McRae, in 1913, asked:

what has the state done for the convict? Nothing. But we have taken the money from his labor and used some for every known purpose except one--the betterment of his unfortunate condition.⁶

Inmate rehabilitation through education must first and foremost serve the needs of the imprisoned offender. To that end this dissertation is dedicated.

Notes

¹Statutes of Florida, CH. 81-125, pp. 1-3.

²"Prison Enterprises, Education and Rehabilitation," Articles of Incorporation (Tallahassee, Florida, 1981).

³N. Gordon Carper, The Convict Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923, Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964, p. 43.

⁴Governor's Message, 1883, p. 36.

⁵Governor's Message, 1895, p. 7.

⁶Department of Agriculture, Twelfth Biennial Report: 1911-1912 (Tallahassee, Florida, 1913), p. 10.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
PREFACE	vi
ABSTRACT	xiii
CHAPTER	
I EUROPEAN PENOLOGY AND THE EMERGENCE OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION	1
The Church Prisons of Europe	1
The Royal Prisons	2
Sundry Prisons and Jails for Common Criminals	3
Bridewell: The First Experiment in Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education	4
Bridewell's Training Program	5
The Dutch Houses of Correction	6
The Enlightenment and Penal Reform: Beccaria	7
Jeremy Bentham and the Panopticon	9
Jacques Vilain and the Maison de Force	9
John Howard: English Prison Reformer	10
Summary	11
Notes	13
II AMERICAN PENOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INMATE REHABILI- TATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES	15
America Establishes its First Prison Systems	15
The Walnut Street Jail: America's First State Prison	16
The Pennsylvania System	17
The Auburn System	19
The Auburn System of Prison Industrialization	20
Organized Labor and the Prison Industries	21
Nineteenth-Century Origins and Development of Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education	22
Elmira Reformatory	24
The American Prison Association and Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education	25
Summary	26
Notes	29

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER	Page
III THE FIRST FLORIDA STATE PRISON AND THE CONVICT LEASE SYSTEM: A FAILED ATTEMPT AT INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION (1868-1919)	32
Florida Establishes its First State Prison	32
Florida State Prison's First Warden	33
Warden Martin Attempts to Create a Self-Supporting State Prison	35
Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education in Florida's First State Prison	36
The Closing of Florida's First State Prison	37
The Florida Convict Lease System	38
Summary	41
Notes	43
IV THE SECOND FLORIDA STATE PRISON: INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION TAKES ROOT (1913-1945)	45
Florida in the Early Twentieth Century	45
Bradford Farms: The New State Prison at Raiford	46
The Chapman Era at Raiford: 1932-1956	49
Chapman Establishes a School at Raiford	50
Raiford Education Expands	50
The Davis Report	52
The War Years	53
Belle Glade Prison Farm is Established	54
Summary	54
Notes	56
V THE POST-WAR ERA AND THE CRISIS OF FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: THE EXPANSION OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION, 1945-1962	58
Florida in the Post-War Era	58
Problems in the Florida Prison System Become Public	58
The Bennett Report and Florida Prison Reform	60
Crisis in the Florida Penal System	61
Nathan Mayo and Florida Corrections	62
The Florida Corrections Code of 1957	64
Progress of Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education: 1957-1962	65
Financing of Inmate Education Increases	66
Richard O. Culver Appointed Director of Florida Corrections	67
The Culver-Johns Feud	68
The Cochran Interlude	70
Summary	71
Notes	73

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

CHAPTER	Page
VI THE WAINWRIGHT ERA IN FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION COMES OF AGE, 1962-1980 . . .	75
Florida's Economy Expands and Diversifies	75
Florida's Population Growth and Urbanization	76
Crime Growth in Florida	76
Florida's Illegal Drug Problem	77
The Wainwright Era: Problems and Progress in Florida Corrections, 1962-1980	77
The Endwright Task Force Program for Improving Florida Inmate Education	80
Objectives of Florida Inmate Education	81
Growth of Florida Inmate Education: 1962-1980	83
Legislative Support of Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education	84
Summary	85
Notes	86
VII INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: 1980	88
Administration and Organization of Florida Corrections	88
Inmate Education in Florida Corrections: The Health and Education Program Office	89
The Bureau of Education Services	90
A Profile of Inmates in the Florida State Correctional System	91
Adult Basic Education	92
The General Educational Development Program	93
Vocational Education	93
Special Vocational Education Projects	94
Vocational Education: Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS)	95
Inmate Education and Florida's Community Colleges	97
Accreditation of Florida Corrections	99
Library Services in Florida's Correctional Institutions	100
Women Inmates and the Florida Correctional System	100
Prison Industries in Florida's Correctional System	104
Conclusions	105
Notes	107
APPENDIX A: FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS REGIONAL MAP	111
APPENDIX B: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS	113
APPENDIX C: SURVEY OF FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS MAJOR CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES: 1980	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	121
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	128

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

A HISTORY OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN THE
FLORIDA STATE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM: 1868-1980

By

Leonard H. Roberts

December 1981

Chairman: Rodman B. Webb

Major Department: Foundations of Education

The purpose of this study is to investigate the social, political and economic forces affecting the development of inmate rehabilitation through education in the Florida correctional system. The work traces the historical roots of inmate education from the sixteenth-century Houses of Correction, whose appearance coincided with the emergence of a new world-wide mercantilist economy requiring a skilled labor pool imbued with proper work habits. In Houses of Correction, "idle harlots," dispossessed farmers, and discharged soldiers, found guilty of beggary, trespass, and similar offenses, served out sentences of enforced discipline and vocational training.

Early nineteenth-century America witnessed the emergence of Auburn-style prisons. These prisons were largely industrial complexes behind walls, operated by a captive labor force of convicted felons. As prison industries and operations became more diverse and sophisticated, education

programs were instituted for training the prisoners in economically useful academic and vocational skills.

Following the Civil War, Florida's ruling Republicans, largely from the industrial North, attempted to establish an Auburn-style industrial state prison in a preindustrial society and failed. With the end of Reconstruction, Bourbon Democrats, in 1878, closed the prison and leased the convicts to private contractors for work on plantations and railroads, and in the forestry and phosphate mining industries of the state.

It was only when Florida began to enter the economic mainstream of American society that a new Auburn-style prison was opened at Raiford, Florida, in 1914. In 1925, the Florida Legislature authorized the establishment of industrial plants in the state's prison system. By 1932, academic and vocational education for inmates was initiated. In 1957, new legislation upgraded the Florida prison system and authorized the use of education as a major method for rehabilitating convicted offenders. Since 1962, Louie L. Wainwright, chief of Florida corrections, has encouraged both the growth of the state's prison industries and inmate rehabilitation through education.

Thus the relationship between inmate education, prison industries, and the economy at large, first recognized in Europe over four hundred years ago, is still evident in today's Florida Department of Corrections.

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN PENOLOGY AND THE EMERGENCE OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION

The Church Prisons of Europe

By the sixteenth century, European and English prison systems were part of a larger system of jurisprudence dominated by the ruling classes of church and state. Such prisons primarily served to protect those in power from what they perceived as threats to their security or sovereignty.

The first major European system of incarceration was established by Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303). In order to maintain ecclesiastical jurisdiction over clerics found guilty of committing crimes by the civil courts, the Pope ordered that such offenders should be imprisoned in special cells in bishops' palaces and monasteries.¹

Whereas church prisons were specifically intended for clerical punishment, the Holy Inquisition was organized by the church to ferret out and punish heretics among the general population. The Inquisition was firmly established during the reign of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), spreading to various European countries in the following centuries. The Inquisition was most active in Spain. The Spanish Inquisition headquarters, or "Sancta Casa," housed a court, prison, and torture chamber under one roof. Headed by a Grand Inquisitor, the court was presided over by members of certain religious orders who passed sentence on the defendants. Punishment

could include torture, imprisonment in the cells of the Sancta Casa, or public burning at the stake (auto-da-fé).²

The Royal Prisons

From the beginning of the Middle Ages, powerful, centralized states appeared in Europe, ruled by hereditary monarchies. Many monarchs were fearful of plots against their rule by rival aristocratic claimants from whom, in some cases, they had seized their power. By the time of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, outspoken intellectuals, largely from the emerging middle classes, were also regarded with suspicion. In order to punish and isolate any opposition to their power, European and English royalty established their own courts and prisons.

In France, under the autocratic Louis XIV, the Code Louis authorized arbitrary seizure and indeterminate imprisonment, for anyone whose name appeared on the king's own writ of arrests, the lettres de cachet. The French philosopher Voltaire was imprisoned on more than one occasion by a lettre. The Encyclopedist Diderot suffered a similar fate when he was committed to the king's prison at Vincennes for questioning the existence of God.³

The Court of Star Chamber was created during the reign of the Tudor monarch Henry VII (1485-1509). It thereafter became a popular device of English royalty for prosecuting and punishing their enemies. Anyone found guilty in Star Chamber proceedings could be tortured, imprisoned in the Tower of London, or beheaded.⁴ Henry VIII held Sir Thomas More in the Tower and ordered his execution for opposing Henry's policies towards the church. Under such royal prerogatives and with Parliament's support, Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, executed her rival, Mary Queen of Scots.

Sundry Prisons and Jails for Common Criminals

Throughout Europe and England, cities, towns, and counties maintained prisons and jails for holding common criminals awaiting trial, sentencing, or the carrying out of punishments such as whipping, stocks, transportation, or execution. Criminals guilty of petty crimes such as stealing were often hanged. English debtors were generally sentenced to jail until their debts were paid up or they died of "gaol fever." During periods of religious agitation, many prisons and jails held the opponents of the dominant religious forces. In England, at one time or another, Catholics, Puritans, and Quakers suffered imprisonment for their beliefs.

In Elizabethan times, the city of London and its environs contained at least eighteen prisons and jails serving a variety of purposes. The principal penal institutions were:

1. The Clink (chiefly for religious offenders)
2. The Fleet (for offenders committed by the Court of Star Chamber)
3. Bridewell (a reformatory or "House of Corrections")
4. Newgate (mainly for debtors)
5. Marshalsea (for religious and maritime offenders)
6. Tower of London (for members of the aristocracy)
7. Ludgate (primarily for lower class offenders)⁵

With one exception, prison and jail authorities of Europe and England were unconcerned about rehabilitating prisoners. The primary purpose of such institutions was to serve as a contrivance for detention, punishment, and royal revenge.

Bridewell: The First Experiment in Inmate
Rehabilitation Through Education

During the sixteenth century, English authorities noticed a dramatic increase in the number of "idle" vagabonds and beggars wandering throughout the English countryside. This situation was largely caused by landlords ejecting farmers and their families from the land and enclosing it for the more profitable grazing of sheep:

The towns go down, the land decays;
Our corn fields, plain lays;
Great lords make now-a-days;
A sheep barn in the church;
These lords he wonders why;
Commons to close and keep;
Poor folk for bread cry and weep;
Towns pulled down to pasture sheep;
This is the new age!

(Extracted from the ballad "Nowe a Dayes," c. 1520)⁶

England, like much of Europe, was in the midst of an economic transformation from an agriculturally based feudal economy to one centered on international trade and commerce. The English peasants futilely attempted to halt land enclosure by killing the offending sheep. Their efforts culminated in Kett's Rebellion (1549), which was put down bloodily by the "better organized classes."⁷

Many of the unemployed farmers and their families sought refuge and new work opportunities in the cities. Some of these involuntary vagabonds and so-called idle harlots, finding no honest work, resorted to pilferage, whoring, and other offenses. In reaction to this early "crime wave," an

alarmed London Council recommended the creation of the first House of Corrections, in 1552.

In the same year, the new House of Corrections, popularly known as Bridewell, was established in Bridewell Bishop's Palace. The palace was donated to the London Council by Bishop Nicholas Ridley with the permission of the young King Edward VI.⁸

The new prison's major purpose was not so much to punish as it was to rehabilitate its inmates. The original regulations of Bridewell's Board of Governors stated that "in this house shall be erected sundry occupations, wherein shall be trained all the sturdy and idle, those occupations as shall be profitable."⁹ The inmates were "supervised by taskmasters and taskmistresses . . . expert in such sciences and occupations as there shall be exercised."¹⁰

Taskmasters were authorized by the Board of Governors to "correct and punish such as are under supervision, if they loiter and be found negligent."¹¹ Thus, Bridewell helped teach the inmates a trade and instill in them work habits useful to the new market economy. Michael Ignatieff, in his work on prisons and the Industrial Revolution, noted that "in many respects, Bridewell was the earliest prototype of the factory."¹²

Bridewell's Training Program

The "rogues" and idle harlots selected for training at Bridewell were not regarded as hardened criminals by the correctional authorities. Upon incarceration, the inmates were given a work training assignment from among a number of trades. Inmates provided for their own upkeep from the wages they earned working. Men were employed in metalworking, carpentry, flour milling or baking; the "dissolute women" were trained to operate a

spinning mill. Gradually, more occupations were added; women mended, carded, and spun; men dredged sand and burned lime to make mortar. In 1563, an apprenticeship system was inaugurated at Bridewell to serve the children of poor freemen and teach "young rogues" a trade. By 1579, twenty-five occupations were practiced at Bridewell, including the making of pins, silk lace, gloves, caps, felts, and tennis balls.¹³

London's Bridewell was so successful that the city of Norwich opened one in 1570. Queen Elizabeth I, in her Poor Law of 1576, decreed that every county in the realm establish, operate, and support a Bridewell. The demands of England's expanding, but labor-short, worldwide empire led to the eventual downfall of the Bridewell system. By 1597, the Vagrancy Act legalized the deportation of rogues and vagabonds for the first time. According to Ignatieff, "by the late 1750s, transportation to the American colonies . . . accounted for 70 percent of all sentences at the Old Bailey in London."¹⁴ The county Bridewells had become by then common jails solely for holding prisoners awaiting trial, sentencing, execution, or transportation.

The Dutch Houses of Correction

In 1596, the Dutch authorities of Amsterdam adopted the Bridewell rehabilitation idea and opened a Rasphuis or House of Correction for vagrant males, "incorrigibles," and runaway apprentices. Offenders sentenced to the Rasphuis were subjected to a rigorous regime of rasping hardwood logs into sawdust for making dyestuffs. The Rasphuis was awarded a monopoly in the production and sale of the sawdust. Some of the profits from sales were used to pay the inmates a small salary, most of which went towards their room and board. Younger and infirmed prisoners were set to

work weaving woolen cloth under the direction of a master weaver. Under a contract with the institution, the master weaver was required to buy the finished cloth. At the end of the work day the master weaver also conducted classes in reading and writing for the younger inmates. As a means of sharpening their moral awareness inmates were expected to attend Sunday religious services. Dangerous prisoners were required to read and memorize edifying religious works in their locked cells.

A year after the opening of the Rasphuis, a Spinhuis was established in the same city for the benefit of female offenders. In the beginning the Spinhuis accepted only poor women needing work, but within ten years of its opening the institution had been transformed into a prison for prostitutes, beggars and drunks. The women inmates worked at carding, spooling, spinning and knitting wool.

The original rehabilitative purpose of the Dutch Houses of Correction as primarily work training and moral reform institutions was eventually discarded. As similar incarceration facilities spread over the Continent, according to the sociologist Thorsten Sellin, "they became state factories serving the mercantilistic policies of rulers more concerned with the balance of trade than with the reformation of criminals."¹⁵

The Enlightenment and Penal Reform: Beccaria

The greatest contribution of Enlightenment reformers to penology was their insistence on the need to objectify and systematize the entire process of criminal justice. This was particularly the view of the emerging middle classes who were eager to curb the arbitrary, secretive, and vindictive interference by kings and inquisitors into their private lives and commercial activities. They believed that their interests would be best

served if a publicly conducted criminal justice system were governed by reasonably and legitimately developed laws, humanely and impartially administered.¹⁶ These views were supported in a brief tract, published in 1764, entitled "On Crimes and Punishments," by Cesare Beccaria. This work crystallized Enlightenment thinking about criminal justice, resulting in an immediate and long-range reformation of penal practices on both sides of the Atlantic.

Beccaria believed that the severity of punishment should match the crime, otherwise "if equal punishment be ordained for two crimes that injure society in different degree, there is nothing to deter man from committing the greater, as often as it is attended with greater advantage."¹⁷

The certainty of punishment, Beccaria declared, acted as a greater restraint on the criminal than the severity of the punishment:

Crimes are more effectively prevented by the certainty, than the severity of punishment. The certainty of a small punishment will make a stronger impression than the fear of one more severe if it is attended with the hope of escaping.¹⁸

Beccaria took a strong stand against cruel punishment and the death penalty. "That punishment may produce the effect required it is sufficient that the evil it occasions should exceed the good expected from the crime. All severity beyond this is superfluous and tyrannical."¹⁹

Though Beccaria offered no specific suggestions for rehabilitating criminals, his demands for a humane and equitable criminal justice system created a new atmosphere in which any number of rehabilitation programs, including inmate rehabilitation through education, could eventually begin to function. As a result of Beccaria's pioneering views, many civilized nations established publicly governed and financed prison systems.

Jeremy Bentham and the Panopticon

The English were also concerned about the need to rationalize their system of jurisprudence which dated back to medieval times. Jeremy Bentham, the English Utilitarian philosopher, shared with the "Scottish Enlightenment" leaders and English parliamentary reformers a belief that "punishment occupied pride of place, as the chief instrument available to a state to canalize the egotistic pursuits of individuals to lawful ends."²⁰ The Utilitarian formulated a "science of pain" dubbed the "hedonistic calculus," in which the measured application of pain was to be administered in an entirely impersonal manner, under the constant surveillance of the authorities, according to formal rules.²¹ In his "Panopticon" (1791), Bentham proposed the construction of a prison built around a central observation tower, from which "inspectors," hidden from public view, could observe the guards and inmates at all times. No secret punishments, no corrupting influences from the staff were possible under total observation "by an authority too systematic to be evaded, too rational to be resisted."²² Bentham believed that his "monstrous creation," as he called it, would eventually drive prisoners to contriteness.

Several major penitentiaries based on Bentham's Panopticon principle were built in England and America. They all eventually failed because their design was not adaptable to the newly emerging use of the prison as an extension of the nineteenth century factory system.

Jacques Vilain and the Maison de Force

Beccaria's treatise helped stimulate reformist thinking about the function, design, and purpose of prisons. The first architectural example of this new thinking was opened at Ghent, Belgium, in 1771, seven years

after the publication of "Crimes and Punishments." The octagon-shaped prison was known as the Maison de Force.

Its warden, Jean Jacques Vilain, introduced a number of lasting innovations in prison organization and administration. Vilain created an inmate classification system in which offenders judged to have rehabilitative potential were assigned to congregate work shops and paid a salary while learning a trade. Inmates slept in individual sleeping cells and dined together in a large mess hall. The prison, operating under a rule of silence, was conducted according to military regulations and patrolled by uniformed, armed guards. Upon incarceration, inmates were washed, shaved, and issued uniform prison garb.

Vilain planned to expand inmate rehabilitation through education by building a workshop for juveniles and noncriminal vagrants. By 1783, however, the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, pressured by business interests fearful of competition from prison industries, forbade the teaching or practicing of trades at the prison, seriously crippling the Ghent experiment. Nevertheless, according to the penologist Blake McKelvey, the Ghent prison "represented a dramatic new step in the development of prisons" in Europe and America.²³

John Howard: English Prison Reformer

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, John Howard (1726-1790), England's greatest prison reformer, made over thirty-eight tours of prisons and jails throughout the British Isles and the Continent, which he recorded in two huge influential volumes published in 1777 and 1789. Howard's major concern was to bring to public attention the need for the immediate

relief of the incarcerated before they perished in the diseased and unsanitary conditions surrounding them. He attacked the prevailing corruption in the management and administration of prisons.

Like Beccaria before him, Howard did not offer specific rehabilitative programs for inmates. Nevertheless, he too, through his writings and appearances before the British Parliament, aroused the public to demand a change in prison conditions. He inspired the creation of organized prison reform movements in England, Europe, and America. When America's first prison reform society was established at Philadelphia in 1787, the organization's president wrote to Howard asking for advice.²⁴ By the early nineteenth century, prison reform associations in America, aptly named John Howard Societies, were established in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Their views of inmate rehabilitation followed Howard's own dictum: "Let [prisoners] be managed with calmness, yet with steadiness; show them that you have humanity, and that you aim to make them useful members of society."²⁵

Summary

The first Houses of Correction were created as a partial answer to the problem of widespread unemployment among the lower classes because of the economic transformation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European society. Europe and England shifted from a predominately feudal economy to a capitalist economy based on manufacturing, trade, and colonization on a worldwide scale.

The appearance of the first House of Correction coincided with the growing need of the newly emerging economic order for a special kind of labor force. The new system required a skilled pool of factory labor imbued

with proper work habits and attitudes. The Houses of Correction helped divert dispossessed farmers, discharged soldiers, and other assorted sturdy vagabonds and idle harlots roaming the cities and countrysides, into the new labor force by sentencing them to a period of enforced vocational training. These institutions were the earliest examples of incarceration combined with inmate rehabilitation through education as an alternative to punishment. Many of the rehabilitation programs eventually failed when their principal objective changed from the reformation of inmates to the systematic exploitation of their labor power.

Demands for penal and judicial reform were primarily generated by middle-class spokesmen of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, in Europe and England. The middle classes feared that their newly won power and wealth were threatened by the legal power and privileges wielded by the aristocratic ruling classes. Under such regimes, any citizen could be vulnerable to the subjective and secretive application of the laws by kings and courts. The reformers called for the establishment of rational laws and punishments objectively and publicly carried out.

Many reformist beliefs and practices of the period crossed the Atlantic ocean and became implanted in the fledgling American republic, encouraging the development of its own unique penological policies and methods.

Notes

¹Torsten Eriksson, The Reformers: A Historical Survey of Pioneer Experiments in the Treatment of Criminals (New York: Elsevier, 1976), p. 5.

²Jean Plaidy, The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth and End, Vol. 1 (New York: The Citadel Press, 1967), pp. 18, 40-42, 123-159.

³Will Durant and Ariel Durant, The Age of Voltaire: The Story of Civilization, Vol. 9 (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1965), pp. 35, 267-268, 630.

⁴Charles Rembar, The Law of the Land: The Evolution of Our Legal System (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), pp. 70-71, 281.

⁵Gamini Salgado, The Elizabethan Underworld (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1977), pp. 176, 181; Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structure (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 62.

⁶R. H. Tawney, Tudor Economic Documents, Vol. 3 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924), p. 19.

⁷G. M. Trevelyan, History of England (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 315; Karl Polyani, The Great Transformation (Rinehart and Co. Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 34-36.

⁸Austin Van Der Slice, "Houses of Correction" Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, 29 (May-June, 1936--March-April, 1937), pp. 51, 54. Some of those considered rogues or vagabonds by the authorities included palm readers, those having no land or masters, jugglers, tinkers, able-bodied laborers who loitered, counterfeits of licenses and passports, Egyptians (Gypsies), and all scholars of Oxford and Cambridge who begged without a license from the university.

⁹R. H. Tawney, Tudor Economic Documents, Vol. 2, op. cit., p. 308.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 310.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Michael Ignatieff, A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 32.

¹³Austin Van Der Slice, op. cit., pp. 47-52.

¹⁴Michael Ignatieff, op. cit., p. 20; Thorsten Sellin, Slavery and the Penal System (New York: Elsevier Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 75-76.

¹⁵Thorsten Sellin, ibid., p. 76.

¹⁶Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

¹⁷Anthony Babington, The English Bastille: A History of Newgate Gaol and Prison Conditions in Britain, 1188-1902 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), p. 128.

¹⁸Sawyer F. Sylvester, Jr., (Ed.), The Heritage of Modern Criminology (Cambridge, Mass.: Shenkman Publishing Co., 1972), p. 19.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 20.

²⁰Michael Ignatieff, op. cit., p. 76.

²¹Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, op. cit., p. 74. Jeremy Bentham echoed Cesare Beccaria's belief in the possibility of calculating justice with mathematical precision. Rusche quotes Beccaria as saying "that if mathematical calculations could be applied to the obscure and infinite combination of human actions there might be a corresponding scale of punishments."

²²Michael Ignatieff, op. cit., p. 77.

²³Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915 (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1977), p. 5; Torsten Eriksson, op. cit., pp. 21-23.

²⁴Negley Teeters, They Were in Prison: A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937 (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Co., 1937), p. 40.

²⁵John Howard, An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe, 2nd ed. (1791). (Reprinted by Patterson Smith, Montclair, New Jersey, 1973), p. 222.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN PENOLOGY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

America Establishes its First Prison Systems

The early American attitude towards incarceration and treatment of convicted criminals was derived from what one noted penologist called "the queer combination of the rational philosophy of the French and American revolutionaries and the theology of the Quakers and Puritans."¹ The views of these two religious sects were to have a particularly enduring influence on the process of American penology in the nineteenth century.

The Quakers and Puritans sanctioned the use of incarceration for criminal behavior, but for different reasons. On the one hand, the Quakers believed that imprisonment should serve as an instrument of criminal reform. Convinced of the essential goodness of human nature, they believed that incarceration helped isolate the criminal from the evil causes of his downfall. Separated from bad social influences, be they friends or even loved ones, he could, in isolation, more readily reflect on his sins and seek salvation through a revived religious affirmation.²

The Puritans, on the other hand, proclaimed John Calvin's views of a depraved human nature fundamentally flawed by Original Sin. Puritans believed that God, in his mysterious majesty, had already chosen the saved and the damned and no amount of good works or reformed beliefs would change God's decision. Rehabilitation was therefore impossible. Imprisonment,

under a strict regimen of discipline such as hard labor, therefore helped break the criminal's evil spirit, making him more docile and pliable to society's injunctions and less likely to act out his unchangeably evil inclinations.³

The Walnut Street Jail: America's First State Prison

The first major attempt to carry out prison reform in the newly established United States took place in Philadelphia, the nation's then largest city, a hub of political and commercial activities. In 1787, a coalition of prominent Philadelphians formed a prison reform organization, called the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. The Society attracted such diverse members as the Quaker Roberts Vaux, the physician Dr. Benjamin Rush, and the rationalist and Deist Benjamin Franklin. The Society's intention was to renovate the dilapidated Walnut Street Jail and institute new penal policies and reforms, many of which reflected the dominant views of the Quaker membership.⁴

Shortly thereafter, the jail was elevated to the status of a state prison by an Act of the Pennsylvania State Legislature. The new law called for a program of labor under a regime of strict discipline. Silence was to be observed at all times. The law also provided that convicts showing promise of reformation could be released with the sentencing court's approval. In addition to work in absolute silence, inmates were given religious instruction by visiting ministers.⁵ In 1791, the Board of Inspectors of the prison stated that the purpose of institution was to fulfill three major functions:

1. The public security
2. The reformation of the prisoners
3. Humanity towards those unhappy members of society⁶

The refurbished jail contained workshops where nondangerous inmates could work together in silence. The more hardened criminals were confined to their cells, laboring, eating, and sleeping in solitude. The others were housed in sleeping dormitories. A visitor to the Walnut Street Jail noted that:

the unskilled convicts were employed in beating hemp and picking moss, wood or oakum. Other inmates worked at carpentry, joinery, weaving, shoe-making, tailoring and the making of nails. The female convicts worked at spinning cotton yarn, carding wool, picking cotton, preparing flax and hemp, and washing and mending. Each male prisoner was paid for his labor at the same or somewhat lower wages than those paid for similar work on the outside and female prisoners had the opportunity to earn small sums. All were debited with the cost of daily maintenance. Moreover, the prisoners were informed that good conduct would be rewarded by recommendation to the governor for a pardon. No chains or irons were allowed. Corporal punishment was unknown.⁷

The Quaker Caleb Lownes, who managed the jail, reported, in 1797, that the institution helped create a safer Philadelphia:

our streets meet with no interruption from those characters that formerly rendered it dangerous. . . . The discharged prisoners have chosen the risk of being hanged in other States, rather than encounter the certainty of their being confined in the penitentiary cells of this.⁸

The policies and practices of the Walnut Street Jail already contained much of the essential characteristics of American penology: reformation through religious enlightenment, discipline, and hard labor, whether in isolation or through congregate activities.

The Pennsylvania System

The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons contributed to the planning of what was called the Pennsylvania System, a more perfected version of the Walnut Street Jail reform experiment.

Penitentiaries constructed under the Pennsylvania Plan emphasized separate and solitary confinement of inmates. Labor, when permitted, was performed in the cells and all meals were taken there. The thick walls of the cells prevented communication between prisoners, each of whom had access to a small, private high-walled yard for individual exercise. Such seclusion was regarded, according to the Quaker Roberts Vaux, as the best means for placing "every prisoner beyond the possibility of being made more corrupt. . . . furnishing him with the opportunity which Christian duty enjoins, for promoting his restoration to the path of virtue, because seclusion is believed to be essential in moral treatment."⁹ Echoing Cesare Beccaria, Vaux believed that "certainty rather than the severity of punishment" was a greater deterrent to crime.¹⁰

Prison reformers from America and Europe who visited the Pennsylvania style "penitentiaries"¹¹ had mixed evaluations as to their efficacy. The parliamentary visitor, Sir William Crawford, and his French counterpart, Gustave de Beaumont, reported favorably on the Pennsylvania System, thus contributing to its adoption throughout Europe. The English author Charles Dickens felt differently, however. After visiting Eastern Penitentiary outside Philadelphia, he reported it was run "on the principle of hopeless, strict and unrelaxed solitary confinement . . . a most dreadful, fearful place."¹²

The well-intentioned Quakers believed that common criminals could benefit from the same manner of incarceration as they themselves had suffered during the English religious persecutions of the seventeenth century. For the community of Quakers, imprisonment helped kindle "the Inner Light" of their convictions in God's saving grace.¹³ For many of the criminals in

a Pennsylvania System prison, incarceration was not a saving grace but a form of mental torture. Isolated from human companionship, the Inner Light was replaced by the fires of madness. The benevolent effort at prison reform became a form of punishment in itself.

One other prison modeled after the Pennsylvania System was built in western Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, followed by one each in New Jersey and Rhode Island. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, newer penitentiaries were being constructed and administered according to the Auburn System, based on New York's Auburn State Prison. The Auburn System eventually replaced the Pennsylvania System altogether, becoming the standard paradigm for the American penal system up to the present time.

The Auburn System

Auburn Prison, reorganized in 1823, evolved from an earlier prison complex, operated according to the Pennsylvania System. The revamped prison took on a new purpose and direction, partially resulting from nineteenth-century America's rapid industrialization. Auburn, America's first major industrial prison, was to have a lasting influence on the design and operation of state prisons across the nation. Many of the prison's policies, however, were governed by certain earlier Puritan beliefs about the cause and treatment of criminal behavior. Puritans believed criminals were beyond redemption. According to their Calvinist code, criminal behavior was a clear sign of rejection by God from the community of the saved and no amount of spiritual reform could redeem criminals from their predestined damnation. This was contrary to the Quaker belief that isolating criminals from bad influences could lead to spiritual awakening and, eventually, salvation. The Puritans believed no amount of spiritual awakening

could lessen the criminal's inherent depravity; rather, he must be forced to outward conformity. This, they believed, was best accomplished by the application of strict discipline and corporal punishment.¹⁴

Under the watchful eyes of Warden Elam Lynds, prisoners at Auburn State Prison were subjected to the whip for the slightest infraction. Absolute obedience was expected at all times. According to the American penologist Orlando Lewis, Auburn practiced "reformation by horror, constant hard labor and the breaking of the spirit."¹⁵ Such treatment, it was believed, would bend the felon to the will of society.

The schedule of routines at Auburn was strictly enforced. The prisoners dressed in coarse uniforms, ate together in dining halls and labored in congregate workshops. Silence was enforced at all times and convicts marched in lockstep to and from their assigned work areas. At night they slept in multistoried tiers of cells facing out upon open galleries. Owing to its cheaper construction costs and industrial profitability, Auburn-style prisons were duplicated at Sing Sing in eastern New York and other states of the industrial Northeast, eventually displacing the Pennsylvania System altogether.¹⁶

The Auburn System of Prison Industrialization

The nineteenth-century Auburn System triumphed over its rivals because it helped to create a trained and disciplined labor force. Prison industries produced goods which were profitable to the state while also producing a skilled labor pool at no cost to industry. According to the eminent penologist Georg Rusche, there was in the labor market of early nineteenth-century America

a greater demand for workers than at any time during the mercantilist period in Europe. The importation of slaves

had become much more difficult as a result of the new regulations. The availability of free land and the rapid industrial development created in the labor market a vacuum which could not be filled by immigration. Anyone could find work.¹⁷

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, immigrants arrived on American shores in increasing numbers. Working conditions deteriorated as rampant, unregulated capitalism strained the American economic system, creating inflation and a series of economic depressions. The rigorous discipline imposed on inmates confined in Auburn-style prisons helped make them more docile and amenable to the demands of authority at a time when labor agitation and radicalism was on the rise.¹⁸ According to Orlando Lewis,

hard labor under the new Auburn System became a fetish. Hard labor was the rule of life outside of the prison. If the prison could be made less costly by the labor of the prisoner, hard labor should be the rule inside the prison.¹⁹

Most humanitarian prison reformers looked upon prison labor as beneficial to the prisoner. Prison industries received powerful support from such famous American prison reformers as Louis Dwight of the Boston Prison Discipline Society. The Society proclaimed that the prison labor economy strengthened the moral convictions of the inmates. Such a stance by one of the nation's leading prison reform organizations, noted Orlando Lewis, helped sanction the Auburn System's shift "from producing reformation to producing profits for the state."²⁰

Organized Labor and the Prison Industries

By the 1830s, prison labor was contracted by outside private enterprise to produce a whole spectrum of finished products such as: shoes, brass clocks, hats, tailored suits, saddles, carpets, and cabinets, to name

a few. Auburn Prison, observed Lewis, was a "great, smooth running industrial machine."²¹ Outraged free labor feared a ruination of their productive capacities as the competition from prison industries began to be felt in the marketplace. Lewis goes on to say: "it cost the mechanics [laborers and artisans] in Albany \$58.00 to produce 100 dozen large combs, while the same amount could be produced by prison labor for \$15.50."²² In 1835, the labor movement, in New York State alone, submitted a petition to the state legislature containing 200,000 signatures, protesting the competition of convict labor.²³

As the forces of free labor became better organized throughout the nineteenth century, politicians began to pay attention to their demands for regulating prison industries. New York State, in 1835 and 1842, passed laws protecting the mechanics' interests. Nevertheless, "prison labor was not stopped, it was only restricted,"²⁴ by regulations which varied from state to state. By 1897, with free labor's blessing, it was agreed that prison labor would be devoted to the production of goods and services for "state use" only, a practice now common to most states, including Florida.²⁵ ✓

Nineteenth-Century Origins and Development of Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education

With a zeal matched only by their English humanitarian counterparts, American prison reformers were actively directing organized efforts at improving the physical and spiritual well-being of convicts. This was accomplished in spite of the disapproval of some puritanical wardens, such as Captain Elam Lynds. Lynds closed down a Sunday school for younger Auburn inmates because he believed learning "increased danger to society of the educated convicts."²⁶ Such resistance to inmate education did not

deter Louis Dwight. With the organized resources of his Boston Prison Discipline Society, Dwight helped organize "Sabbath schools" in many of the northern prisons. On Sunday, inmates were offered the opportunity to remain in their cells alone or join others in the chapel for basic reading instruction. The instructors, all chaplains, distributed free Bibles to the inmates. In some prisons chaplains instructed the inmates through the bars of their cells. Dwight's Sabbath schools even prevailed at Auburn where, by 1830, says the inmate education writer Albert R. Roberts, "New York State's Auburn Prison had formed thirty-one classes and 160 inmates were attending them."²⁷ At Sing Sing, according to a visiting Englishman, Sir William Crawford, the most illiterate prisoners at the prison received instruction for two hours a week.

In 1847, the New York State Legislature passed a law requiring the hiring of two full-time instructors for each of the state prisons at Auburn and Sing Sing. The law was an important milestone in inmate education because it "was the first legal recognition of academic education in correctional institutions in the United States."²⁸

The New York State Law stated that:

the objective of prison education in its broadest sense should be the socialization of the inmates through varied impressional and expressional activities, with emphasis on individual inmate needs. The objective of this program shall be the return of these inmates to society with a more wholesome attitude toward living, with a desire to conduct themselves as good citizens and with the skill and knowledge which will give them a reasonable chance to maintain themselves and their dependents through honest labor. To this end, each prisoner shall be given a program of education, which on the basis of the available data, seems most likely to further the process of socialization and rehabilitation. The time daily devoted to such education shall be such as for meeting the above objectives.²⁹

In 1867, the Massachusetts State Legislature was petitioned by Warden Gideon Hayes of the Massachusetts State Prison for sufficient funds to enable him to purchase textbooks for teaching illiterate convicts. Such actions signaled the shift of responsibility for the education of inmates from the private and religious sector to the public sector.³⁰

Elmira Reformatory

Elmira Reformatory, in upper New York State, specifically designed for youthful first offenders, ages 16 to 30, became the model for all such subsequent institutions. Education at the reformatory was, according to Roberts, "for the first time considered as the keystone to the arch of reform."³¹ The Commissioner of the reformatory, Zebulon Brockway, upon taking charge in 1876, operated Elmira on the premise that "a thorough training program should be available to all, from the illiterate to the university graduate, using the most advanced methods."³² Brockway believed that education must be available to all classes "because criminals are capable of being changed for the better by this means."³³ Brockway observed that the right kind of educational programs would do more than merely impart academic knowledge. The effects of education, according to Brockway, could "dissipate poverty by imparting intelligence sufficient . . . to putting into mind habits of punctuality, method and perseverance,"³⁴ useful in an industrial society. Inmates at Elmira, enrolled in educational programs, could gain good conduct credits and help shorten the length of their indeterminate sentences.

Warden Brockway did not hesitate to tap two nearby colleges for educational support. In 1883, Brockway asked Professor W. A. Wells, of

Syracuse University, to conduct an industrial arts class, which in a short time included vocational classes in plumbing, suit tailoring, printing, and telegraphy. By the following year the experimental program had grown into a full-time department with its own staff of instructors, making it one of the pioneer trade schools in the country. Elmira classrooms and workshops were soon widely imitated.

Adult education courses were also being conducted six nights a week by inmates with sufficient formal education backgrounds. Warden Brockway was also able to draw Dr. D. R. Ford, of the Elmira Women's College, into presenting advanced courses in physical geography and natural sciences. The adult education program was expanded into a permanent department under Dr. Ford's direction, while a third department, concentrating on higher education, was shortly formalized by D. P. Mayhew, from Michigan State Normal School. Professor Mayhew, appointed "moral director," conducted classes in Bible studies, ethics, and psychology. Two more faculty members were added to the Elmira staff to teach college economics, history, and literature.³⁵

The American Prison Association and Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education

The educational efforts of Louis Dwight, Zebulon Brockway, and other educators, received important support from the newly formed American Prison Association. Its historic meeting at Cincinnati in 1870 attracted an international audience who spoke out in favor of inmate rehabilitation through education. Sir John Bowring, the British delegate, succinctly summed up the need for inmate education:

provision for schools is a matter of grave importance, and in prisons, as indeed everywhere, a central all embracing supervision

is of paramount importance. The hours devoted to study should be so exclusively devoted, and emulation should be encouraged, as a great impulse to progress. . . . A prison may be deemed an industrial school in which the management deals with moral instead of physical diseases, which it is its duty to alleviate and, if possible, to cure.³⁶

Enoch Wines, the Secretary of the American Prison Association, personally wrote to the Republican Reconstructionist governor of Florida, Marcellus Stearns (1874-1877), following the Civil War, offering him state membership in the Association. The governor declined Wines's offer of the Association's professional advice, services, and publications, possibly because the one-thousand-dollar annual membership fee was too much for the state's impoverished treasury.

Summary

The Auburn System emerged as the dominant paradigm of nineteenth-century American penology. Historically, according to Orlando Lewis, "the period is of exceptional significance in the development of American penal systems . . . because powerful economic and moral forces have in the past conditioned and traditionalized our penal institutions,"³⁷ up to the present time. Auburn replaced the Pennsylvania System because it successfully incorporated both the Quaker and Puritan views of reform and discipline with the particular needs of an emerging industrial society.

The Auburn System practiced two conflicting methods of criminal treatment: the Quaker belief in rehabilitation (and thereby reform), and the Puritan notion of discipline through punishment as a means of achieving conformity. The rightful position of these two doctrines is still unresolved in American penology.

American conservatives and liberals are still divided over whether the proper role of prisons is to punish or rehabilitate. Among the great majority of Americans who may not lean towards either position, prisons are assumed to be serving both functions, though, in fact they are mutually incompatible. Added to this controversy is the still debated question over whether imprisonment can act as a deterrent of future criminal behavior, first raised by Cesare Beccaria in the eighteenth century. "It is the clash," commented Orlando Lewis, "of the several prominent 'interests' of the prison programs that has ever and again confused the prison problem."³⁸

The religious motives for promoting the teaching of reading in some early nineteenth-century American prisons was eventually superseded by more mundane educational motives. The self-supporting Auburn industrial prisons displaced the labor-wasting Pennsylvania System by becoming extensions of the nation's expanding industrialism. Auburn-type prisons were self-contained and profitable industrial plants primarily operated by the convicts themselves.

As more sophisticated machinery and manufacturing processes were installed, prisons required more skilled workers and foremen to operate and regulate their industrial plants. Vocational training and academic education became necessities if the profitable operations were to continue running smoothly and profitably. It was also recognized at this time that educational activities helped improve prison morale, relieving the boredom and the sense of wasted time that was at the bottom of much prison unrest.

A Declaration of Principles issued at the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, in 1870, stated that:

education is a vital force in the reformation of fallen men and women. Its tendency is to quicken the intellect,

inspire self-respect, excite to higher aims, and afford a healthful substitute for low and vicious amusements. Education is therefore of primary importance in prisons.

Industrial training should have both a higher development and a greater breadth than has heretofore been, or is now, commonly given to our prisons. Work is no less an auxiliary to virtue, than it is a means of support. Steady, active honorable labor is the basis of all reformatory discipline.³⁹

Notes

¹George G. Killinger, Penology: The Origins of Corrections in America (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1973), p. 35; Thorsten Sellin, Slavery and the Penal System (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1976), p. 138.

²Louis Robinson, Penology in the United States (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Co., 1921), pp. 71, 76; Margaret Bacon, The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America (New York: Basic Books, 1969), pp. 19, 23, 26.

³Kai T. Erikson, Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 189-197.

⁴Negley K. Teeters, They Were in Prison: A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937 (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Co., 1937), p. 122.

⁵Blake McKelvey, American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915 (Monclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1977), p. 6.

⁶Negley K. Teeters, op. cit., p. 49.

⁷George Killinger, op. cit., p. 27.

⁸Orlando F. Lewis, The Development of American Prisons and Prison Customs, 1776-1845 (Monclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1967), p. 29.

⁹George Killinger, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

¹⁰Negley Teeters, op. cit., p. 158.

¹¹Louis N. Robinson, Penology in the United States (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Co., 1921), p. 67. "The word penitentiary, which is of ecclesiastical origin, was used by Bentham and Howard to characterize a prison in which the criminal could expiate his crime and be reformed."

¹²Negley Teeters, op. cit., pp. 218-236. Contains Dickens complete report of his visit and the reaction of the Philadelphia Prison Society to his report.

¹³Margaret Bacon, op. cit., pp. 19, 23, 26.

¹⁴Kai T. Erikson, op. cit., pp. 202-204.

¹⁵Orlando Lewis, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁶George Killinger, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

¹⁷Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structure (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), p. 128.

¹⁸Louis M. Hacker, The Triumph of American Capitalism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), pp. 267-279.

¹⁹Orlando Lewis, op. cit., p. 92.

²⁰Blake McKelvey, op. cit., pp. 12, 39; Orlando Lewis, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

²¹Orlando Lewis, op. cit., p. 130.

²²Ibid., p. 138.

²³Ibid., p. 136.

²⁴Ibid., p. 146.

²⁵Blake McKelvey, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

²⁶Orlando Lewis, op. cit., p. 95.

²⁷Albert R. Roberts, Source Book on Prison Education: Past, Present, and Future (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1971), pp. 4-5.

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

²⁹New York State Correctional Law, 1847, Ch. 864, Sec. 136.

³⁰Albert R. Roberts, op. cit., p. 6.

³¹Ibid., p. 6.

³²Torsten Eriksson, The Reformers: A Historical Survey of Pioneer Experiments in the Treatment of Criminals (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1976), p. 100.

³³Zebulon Brockway, Fifty Years of Prison Service (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1912), p. 407.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Blake McKelvey, op. cit., pp. 109-111.

³⁶E. C. Wines, Transactions of the National Congress of Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, 1870 (Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1871), p. 90.

³⁷Orlando Lewis, op. cit., p. 132.

³⁸Ibid., see also Harry E. Allen and Clifford E. Simonsen, Corrections in America: An Introduction, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981), pp. 421-422.

³⁹E. C. Wines, op. cit., pp. 542-543.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST FLORIDA STATE PRISON AND THE CONVICT LEASE SYSTEM: A FAILED ATTEMPT AT INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION (1868-1919)

Florida Establishes its First State Prison

In 1868, the Republican Reconstructionist government of Florida authorized the establishment of a state prison to contend with the rise of crime in the state following the end of the Civil War. A Jacksonville newspaper reported that "various jails throughout the state were of such flimsy construction that the deparadoes [sic] laughed them to scorn, and jail deliveries were the most common occurrence of everyday life, where crime increased with fearful rapidity."¹ Florida's first Reconstructionist governor, Harrison Reed (1868-1873), a Republican carpetbagger from Wisconsin, expressed the view that "under the present system the state has been unable to punish its criminals."²

In an effort to remedy the situation, Governor Reed journeyed to Washington, D.C., in September, 1868. The governor conferred with Secretary of War Stanton and the Freedmen's Bureau, which was responsible for abandoned federal property. The Freedmen's Bureau granted permission for Florida to convert the abandoned federal arsenal at Chattahoochee, Florida, into a state prison under a free lease arrangement.

The former arsenal consisted of a number of sturdy, but dilapidated, stone buildings within a walled enclosure that had once served as barracks,

officers' quarters, and workshops for the federal military contingent stationed in Florida before the Civil War. The arsenal included over four hundred acres suitable for cultivation. Governor Reed envisioned "a judicious [penitentiary] system, which may be made a source of profit"³ by converting the arsenal into a self-supporting prison capable of holding up to three hundred convicts. The governor ordered construction of the necessary number of iron sleeping cells, but legislative funding for their construction was never forthcoming. In 1869, the state treasury was so strapped for money that prison supplies had to be paid for out of the governor's contingency fund. Undeterred, Governor Reed proceeded with the task of provisioning and staffing the new state facility.

Florida State Prison's First Warden

Governor Reed selected Malachi Martin, a moderate Republican, as the prison's first chief administrator, bestowing upon him the rank of colonel. Under the new organization Martin reported directly to the state's adjutant general's office, which shared authority for operating the prison with the Florida Commissioners of Public Institutions.⁴

During the approximately ten years of his tenure as State Prison Warden, Colonel Martin was a storm center of controversy as conservative Democrats tried to discredit his penal policies and practices in particular, and Carpetbagger Reconstructionism, in general.

The colonel was born in Ireland but had spent his adult life in New York City, where he established himself as a dry goods merchant. At the beginning of the Civil War, he received a lieutenant's commission and was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, serving as quartermaster for the famed

"Irish Brigade," from 1861 to 1864. At the end of the war, Martin held the post of quartermaster for the United States Army, Department of Florida, headquartered in the state capital at Tallahassee. Resigning his commission in 1866, he decided to settle in Florida and unsuccessfully tried his hand at farming. For a brief time before accepting the appointment as prison commandant, he had acted as an agent for the Freedmen's Bureau.⁵

Like many other Yankee carpetbaggers in the South, Martin entered politics, becoming a moderate Republican and serving at one time or another as a representative from Gadsden County, Speaker of the Assembly, and a member of the Republican State Executive Committee.⁶

Political life in Florida following the Civil War was tumultuous as various factions of Republicans and Democrats vied with each other for political control of the state. In the heated struggles, according to the historian, Jerrell Shofner: "dozens of white Republicans and Negroes were assassinated throughout the Florida blackbelt."⁷ Martin himself, on at least one occasion, was the target of an armed mob.

It was in such an atmosphere of near political anarchy that Colonel Martin took command of the new state prison at Chattahoochee, in December of 1868. By June of 1869, he had charge of fourteen guards, mostly black Union veterans, and forty-two convicts, also mostly black. By 1872, the convict population had almost doubled, creating serious security problems. Colonel Martin handled the situation by ordering severe punishments, such as extended solitary confinement and hanging by the thumbs. In one case, at least, an escaping prisoner was bayoneted to death.⁸

Warden Martin Attempts to Create a Self-Supporting State Prison

Despite a lack of financial support from the state legislature, Colonel Martin attempted to organize the facility so that the inmates themselves would operate a factory and farm. The sale of prison products would help support the costs of running the prison. Martin envisioned "establishing a manufactory within the walls of the prison, where under the superintendence of an experienced mechanic, we could manufacture implements, low priced furniture and such articles as would find a ready market."⁹ The new Reconstructionist governor, Marcellus Stearns (1874-1877), concurred: "there are fine workshops which should be put in operation as soon as the finances of the state enable it to provide the necessary machinery at its cash cost. The proper use of these shops would go towards rendering the prison self-supporting."¹⁰

Colonel Martin (whose title was changed to Warden in 1871) reported to the adjutant general in 1873 that the

prison is conducted on the congregate plan, in the full sense of the term, the prisoners not being separated day or night, unless when placed in solitary confinement. They occupy one common dormitory, eat at one table and work together. As far as practicable strict silence is preserved, no prisoner being allowed to speak, unless to ask for information in regard to his work.¹¹

Towards the end of 1874, a water sluice running from the dammed Mosquito Creek had been completed by the convicts. Warden Martin reported to the adjutant general that with a water turbine wheel in use "we will have sufficient power to run a saw mill, a cotton gin and a manufactory . . . we would thus be able to make the prison self-sustaining and a source of revenue for the state."¹² Martin pointed out that the prison's proximity to the Chattahoochee river and nearby connections to railroad lines could be useful for delivering manufactured goods to markets.

The goal of making the prison totally self-supporting was never realized. Every advance in self-sufficiency was offset by an increase in the number of convicts assigned to the state prison. The increasing population created the need to purchase more rations and hire more guards, thus exceeding the profits from the sale of the prison's agricultural produce in tobacco and cotton.¹³

The water turbine wheel for running the mill and manufactory was never completed because the legislature refused to pass the necessary appropriations.

Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education in
Florida's First State Prison

When first faced with the possibility of supervising a prison industrial plant, Warden Martin turned his attention to improving the educational level of the inmates who would be charged with its operation. In 1872, he reported,

our school is very generally attended, and most of the prisoners who have been here a sufficient length of time can now spell and read tolerably well. Those who are most advanced teach the others. Our supply of books is limited, indeed consisting of only sufficient for a primary school of twenty-five or thirty. Had we slates, many of the prisoners would make considerable progress in arithmetic, but while our finances are in their present condition we can but expect little improvement in this respect.¹⁴

Frustrated at obtaining any state support for his educational program, Martin reported to his superior in the following year that "there is no library belonging to this prison. We have few books adapted to a primary school and these have been so thumbed over that they are now nearly illegible." He pointed out that the prisoners "exhibit a very laudable desire to improve their minds," but they needed "a sufficient number of books

for a school that would accommodate all the prisoners."¹⁵ The Warden argued, unsuccessfully, for "the employment of a suitable person who would devote his time to education of the prisoners in the evenings."¹⁶ Martin expressed his belief in the value of inmate rehabilitation through education:

it is well established that a very large majority of the criminals in the world are the most ignorant and under-educated classes. Hence the great effort of men who have given prison discipline their attention and reduced it to a science. All concur in the opinion that it is one of the first duties of the authorities of a prison to educate the fallen and degraded. . . . Carrying this policy into effect I have always encouraged night schools. First it keeps the minds of the prisoners occupied, then they begin to take an interest in their studies, and finally begin to see that by good conduct there is a brighter future for them.¹⁷

Echoing Martin's concerns, State Adjutant General, John Varnum, in 1874, wrote in his official report to the governor that:

from its original establishment to the present time [the prison] has labored under all the disadvantages of a remote location, a dearth of profitable employment under contract outside, and an inability, from lack of material and means, to support itself by manufacture or otherwise within the prison. Suggestions of the most impractical utility have been made in lavish abundance, but the motive of every improvement, money, has been wanting.¹⁸

The Closing of Florida's First State Prison

By 1877, Reconstructionism was drawing to a close throughout the South. The carpetbagger Republicans and their loyal black supporters were being voted out of office in Florida and elsewhere. Though slavery would never be restored, most southern whites wished for a return to the social, political, and economic structure of the antebellum days.¹⁹

The Florida State Prison, established by Reconstructionists, was dismantled soon after Florida's conservative Democrats were elected to power

in 1877. The prison was considered a burden to the taxpayers of the state, and its controversial warden was labeled corrupt and cruel by the enemies of Reconstruction. John Wallace, a vocal black critic of Florida's Reconstruction accused Malachi Martin of "working the prisoners on his own private farm or vineyard while pretending to be cultivating grapes for wine-making for the State, and made thousands of dollars for himself."²⁰ This and other unfounded charges by Wallace and other southern loyalists helped discredit Reconstructionism throughout the South.

In March of 1877, a convict leasing law was passed by the Florida Legislature authorizing the assignment of all the state's prisoners to private contractors. In 1879, the legislature sanctioned the conversion of the prison facility into a state insane asylum.

In 1885, responsibility for the state's prisoners was transferred from the Adjutant General's Department to the Department of Agriculture, in compliance with the state's newly revised constitution. The Commissioner of Agriculture would be responsible for Florida's penal system until 1957, when the state would finally create a separate and independent Division of Corrections.

The Florida Convict Lease System

Ever since the opening of Florida's first state prison in 1868, convicts were periodically leased out for phosphate mining, railroad construction, and naval stores production, particularly important industries in Florida's labor-short post-Civil War economic expansion. After the state prison was closed down in 1878, all the prisoners were assigned to private contractors representing a coalition of the Florida plantocracy and northern railroad

interests who were, according to the Florida historian Charlton Tebeau, extravagant "in the wanton fashion in which they offered (and received) the state's natural resources for development and exploitation."²¹ The contractors paid a nominal sum to the state for use of the convicts. Governor William D. Bloxham (1881-1885 and 1897-1901), a Bourbon Democrat and former slave owner, proclaimed to the state legislature in 1883, that "from being a large expense to the state under the former system, the convicts instead, have become a source of revenue."²²

The convict laborers were mostly sturdy young blacks familiar with heavy outdoor work in Florida's hot climate. Docile under the surveillance of armed guards, prisoners could be coerced into longer hours of work than might be expected of free laborers.

The convicts lived in ramshackle camps, most of which were located in isolated forests or near malarial swamps. The diet provided inmates was poor, sometimes consisting of uncooked food scavenged from the wild surroundings of the camps. At some camps the infirm and female convicts worked agricultural plots, a source of fruit and vegetables. Medical treatment for diseases and injuries was not generally available. Contractors largely ignored their agreement with the state to maintain the convicts in good condition.

Punishment was intense and escape attempts were frequent. Convicts were subjected to flogging with a leather strap or hanging by the thumbs. Although many prisoners died of shotgun wounds, hunger, and disease, according to the supervisor of a convict lease camp, Captain J. C. Powell, "no records were kept of the number of deaths but it was a large proportion of the prisoners."²³

Captain Powell reported that at night prisoners were chained to a sleeping platform. They were so packed together that if "any convict desired to move or change his position thereafter it was required that he first call the night guard."²⁴

In 1893, Governor Henry L. Mitchell (1893-1897) complained about the condition of the convict camps and the treatment of the state's convicts, whose numbers had increased to 717 by December, 1898. He noted in his message to the state legislature that the convicts

are scattered over different portions of the state, some in phosphate mines and some on turpentine farms, with no one to look after their interests, they are truly in a most deplorable condition. . . . Now these people are not an expense to the state; on the contrary, they are a source of profit.²⁵

By 1902 there were thirty convict lease camps scattered across the state.

The leasing of state prisoners ended in 1919, although county convicts were hired out to private interests until 1923. In that year, a prisoner died after a severe flogging. The outspoken cries of the prisoner's parents for justice focused national attention on Florida. The fear of tarnishing the state's benign image as a tourist mecca led William Jennings Bryan (who was involved in Florida land sales himself) to personally address the state legislature. He warned that the publicity about the convict lease system "will keep people away from the wonderful possibilities of the state . . . and minimize the chances to attract capital."²⁶ The legislature immediately abolished convict leasing altogether.

The convict lease system was a highly profitable enterprise for the state of Florida. In thirty-four years (1880-1914), the state made 3.3 million dollars by hiring out its convicts, a considerable sum for those days. Florida put some of the money to a useful purpose. When a new state prison was

constructed at Raiford, Florida, in 1914, revenue from the convict lease profits helped fund the purchase of land and the construction of the facility. In 1913, Florida Agriculture Commissioner W. A. McRae, in his Biennial Report to the governor, observed:

what has the state done for the convict? Nothing. But, we have taken the money from his labor and have appropriated and used same for every known purpose except one--the betterment of his unfortunate condition.²⁷

Summary

The closing of Florida's first state prison coincided with the end of Republican rule and Reconstructionist policies in the state and elsewhere throughout the South. The Florida plantocracy, who dominated the state's economy before and after the Civil War, was once more in political ascendancy following the sweeping election of their Bourbon Democratic supporters into office.

The loss of so much black labor, following the end of the Civil War, was a serious blow to Florida's disrupted economy which, before hostilities, counted almost half its population as slave. The Florida plantocracy in league with conservative Democrats attempted to coerce former slaves into renewed subservience through the passage of the Black Codes and the formation of secret terrorist organizations such as the Klu Klux Klan. Florida's courts sentenced a disproportionate number of blacks to the state prison.

The Republican Reconstructionists, with authority over the state prison, attempted to create within its walls a self-supporting factory operated by convicts trained and educated at the facility. These practices, however, ran counter to the labor needs of Florida's agricultural, mining, and railroad interests. As soon as the Reconstructionists were voted out

of power, in 1877, the state prison was closed and its convicts leased to private contractors.

Replacement of the state prison by the convict lease system was a victory for the Bourbon Democrats, many of whom were former slave owners in need of a new source of cheap labor. Inmate rehabilitation through education would have to wait well into the twentieth century, when a second state prison was opened at Raiford, Florida, in 1914.

Notes

¹Jacksonville Sentinel, February 6, 1869.

²Senate Journal, "Governor's Message," (Tallahassee, Florida, June, 1868), p. 53.

³Assembly Journal, "Governor's Message," (Tallahassee, Florida, 1868), p. 70; Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida, (Adjutant General's Department, 1873), p. 208; Mildred L. Fryman, "Career of a Carpetbagger: Malachi Martin in Florida," Florida Historical Society Quarterly, 56 (January, 1978), pp. 321-322.

⁴Louie L. Wainwright, "A History of Florida's Correctional System" (M.S. Thesis, Nova University, 1978), p. 11.

⁵Mildred L. Fryman, op. cit., p. 321.

⁶Ibid., pp. 328-329, 332.

⁷Jerrell Shofner, Nor Is It Over Yet (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1974), p. 285.

⁸Tallahassee Sentinel, July 24, 1869.

⁹Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (Adjutant General's Department, 1874), p. 91.

¹⁰Senate Journal, "Governor's Message," (Tallahassee, Florida, 1874), p. 34.

¹¹Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (Adjutant General's Department, 1873), p. 207.

¹²Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (1874), p. 90.

¹³Ibid., pp. 87-88.

¹⁴Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (Adjutant General's Department, 1872), p. 136.

¹⁵Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (1873), p. 209.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (Adjutant General's Department, 1875 and 1876), pp. 131-132.

¹⁸Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida (1874), p. 79.

¹⁹Joe M. Richardson, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877 (Tallahassee, Florida: The Florida State University, Florida State Studies, No. 46, 1965), pp. 2-4, 162.

²⁰John Wallace, Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1964), p. 249.

²¹Charlton Tebeau, A History of Florida (Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 274.

²²Senate Journal, "Governor's Message" (Tallahassee, Florida, 1833), p. 36.

²³J. C. Powell, The American Siberia, or, Fourteen Years Experience in a Southern Convict Camp (Philadelphia: H. J. Smith, and Co., 1891), p. 18.

²⁴Ibid., p. 22.

²⁵Senate Journal, "Governor's Message" (Tallahassee, Florida, 1895), p. 7. In the State Prison Report for 1892-1893, it notes "the convicts sentenced by the various courts of the state to the state prison for the past two years have been in the custody of the Hon. E. B. Bailey, whose lease was extended, December, 1890, for the years 1892-1893, he to pay at the rate of \$22.50 per annum for each convict. From this source the state receives over \$10,000 per annum for the convicts" (pp. 119-120).

²⁶Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 12, 1923.

²⁷Twelfth Biennial Report, 1911-1912 (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1913), p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND FLORIDA STATE PRISON: INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION TAKES ROOT (1913-1945)

Florida in the Early Twentieth Century

From 1914 until the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929, Florida experienced unprecedented growth as the automobile and the railroad linked all parts of Florida with other sections of the country. World War I contributed to stimulating Florida's economy; Jacksonville shipyards were busy building ships, while Florida's agriculture and naval stores production contributed to America's war effort. The United States Navy and Army fledgling air arms chose Florida for their major flight training bases at Pensacola, Miami, and Arcadia. Key West was elevated to the status of a major naval port.

After the war, cities such as Miami and Coral Gables grew overnight as retirees and tourists sought refuge from the industrial North on Florida's sunny beaches. A land boom attracted thousands more looking for bargains throughout the lower peninsula, while the wealthy divided up Palm Beach. The results of the influx were mixed. The head of the Florida State Prison system and Commissioner of Agriculture William A. McRae reported in 1921, that:

the great and systematic advertising which Florida has had for the past twenty years, setting forth to the world her many and splendid advantages, has attracted thousands of tourists, home-seekers and investors in the State, and while this was very desirable . . . another class, wholly undesirable, was also attracted, as is shown by the records of the courts of the state.

The passage of the Prohibition Amendment, in 1919, reopened Florida's eighteen-hundred mile coastline to a modern style of smuggling. High-powered motorboats were used for ferrying cases of whisky from ship to shore. Gambling and prostitution flourished illegally as south Florida became a playground for gangsters and the innocent in search of sin. The rest of Florida, the "Cracker" Florida, indulged in moonshining and petty political feuding.

Bradford Farms: The New State Prison at Raiford

The first tentative step towards creating a modern prison system in Florida did not take place until 1911. In that year, the Prison Bureau, staffed by one full-time clerk, was formed as a separate division within the Florida Department of Agriculture which had been responsible for state convicts since 1885. The new bureau improved the collection and compiling of state prison statistical data.²

In 1913, the state legislature authorized the construction of a new state prison. By the following year, the facility was ready to receive convicts. Although officially known as Bradford Farms, it was, thereafter, commonly called Raiford after the local township. State-derived profits from convict leasing paid for the construction of the prison facilities and the purchase of land to the sum of \$290,000. Construction of the physical plant and the clearing of seventeen thousand acres for farmland were entirely done by prison labor at no cost to the state.³

The wooden buildings holding the prisoners were enclosed in a wire fence stockade containing barrack-like dormitories with iron beds and attached dining rooms. The prison grounds also contained a hospital, a smoke

house, two silos, and various service shops for maintaining and repairing equipment and machinery.⁴ By the beginning of 1917, the inmate population of Florida's prison system, including road camps, reached over sixteen hundred, of whom 82 percent were black.⁵ Races and sexes were segregated from each other within the prison compound.

The superintendent, D. W. Purvis, and many prison staff members lived in homes near the stockade, rented to them by the state. Governor Park Trammell (1913-1917) proudly described Raiford as having a modern plant, including electricity, bathing facilities, sewerage, and screened windows and doors. A legislative investigative committee, however, found deficiencies: "the wards were too close together, the barns were overcrowded, the design of the water system created a dangerous fire hazard . . . and little has been produced at the farm in 1914."⁶

Since its founding in 1914, the State Prison at Raiford served as a reception and work assignment center for anyone sentenced to the system. All physically able inmates were sent to the statewide road camps of the convict road force. Living conditions at the camps were poor; in many of them, prisoners slept outdoors in wheeled cages.⁷ At Raiford, men who were healthy enough worked in the fields and the women sewed, laundered, and made new garments.

As early as 1920, however, the prison was evolving into a new role. A few industries were already operating, including a saw and planing mill, iron foundry, shoe factory, and mattress factory. Of the approximately seventeen thousand acres of prison land, four thousand were under cultivation for large-scale agriculture, dairy, and livestock production. Grits, rice,

and cane mills, a corn crusher, oats thrasher, peanut picker, and bean huller, were helping process the raw farm products. J. S. Blich, the successor to Superintendent Purvis, considered prison industries as a means for making Raiford "permanently and successfully self-sustaining." Superintendent Blich favored prison labor but believed "it is wrong and disgraceful to wreak blood money from their labor, or to treat them in any way other than will bring about reformation."⁸

In 1916, Commissioner McRae expressed hope for establishing a school and library at the prison, but nothing was done. In 1920, Superintendent Blich tested the literacy rate at Raiford and found that 33 percent of the blacks and 20 percent of the whites were illiterate, and a greater number could hardly read or write.⁹

Governor Cary Hardee (1921-1925) best expressed the attitude of the state towards treatment of convicted felons when he proclaimed at his inauguration that "reform and rehabilitation, in short, might be worthy goals but they could not be allowed to interfere with the paving of the highways."¹⁰

During the administration of Governor John Martin (1925-1929), the Florida State Legislature authorized the Board of Commissioners of Public Institutions to establish and operate full-scale prison industries at Raiford. Over the years the prison was transformed into a modern industrial facility similar to the Auburn-style prisons operating in most of the other states. The numerous wooden structures were replaced by a modern concrete block administration building, dormitories for housing two hundred trustees, a large mess hall, auditorium, and library. Two three-story, open-tiered concrete and steel cell blocks capable of holding two thousand inmates were also constructed. A self-contained power station and two factory buildings

for housing prison industries rounded out the refurbishing of the prison complex.¹¹

The economic depression following the crash of 1929 had an immediate impact on Florida. The state had already suffered economic reversals with the collapse of the Florida land boom in 1926. The new governor, Doyle E. Carlton (1929-1933), faced bank closures, property foreclosures, devaluation, and a fruit fly infestation that threatened to destroy Florida's citrus industry. Under such conditions, Raiford faced a new era.

The Chapman Era at Raiford: 1932-1956

In 1932, L. F. Chapman was appointed Superintendent of Raiford Prison. Chapman came to the position with no prison experience whatsoever. The son of Methodist missionaries to the Indians of the Southwest he had worked as a newspaperman and a citrus grower. At the time of his appointment he was serving his first term as a representative in the state legislature. During his tenure, in spite of limited depression funding, he turned Raiford into a modern correctional institution.¹²

Under Chapman's leadership, Raiford continued to expand and modernize its facilities. In 1932, a modern dairy building was added. In 1938, a fully equipped, two-story hospital was constructed through funds provided by the federal Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.).¹³

By 1939, the State Prison at Raiford operated a shirt factory, mattress factory, tanning vat, shingle mill, saw mill, tag shop, tobacco plant, shoe factory, chemical plant, and sewing room (for women). Combined with farm, dairy, and livestock production, the total prison industrial operation at Raiford and Belle Glade Prison Farm employed 445 prisoners.

Their productivity generated \$269,714 in sales income, of which \$36,387 was from sales on the open market.¹⁴

Chapman Establishes a School at Raiford

In the same year Chapman became superintendent, he suggested to his staff that an informal school be opened for the white inmates, under the supervision of the prison chaplain. The school met in a corner of the prison auditorium for two-hour sessions, on three days of each week. The classes were conducted by civilian staff from the records office, and some of the better educated prisoners. Only those inmates who completed their regular duties could attend classes on their free time. Beginning in 1935, classes were held five days a week in the auditorium, attended by a regularly assigned "school squad" of students and instructors. Inmates permitted to enter the educational program were administered the Stanford-Binet I.Q. test and the Stanford Achievement Test. Scores on the tests determined which classes inmates would be assigned to, and what kind of remedial work they might need beforehand.¹⁵

Raiford Education Expands

The year 1937 marked a milestone in Florida inmate education. The old, unused prison hospital building was remodeled into a permanent prison school. The school offered a full adult education program, through the first eight grades. A separate adult education school was formed for "illiterate and undereducated Negroes." The school met at night and was "governed by the rules used in the white school during the daytime."¹⁶ Vocational courses, taught by inmate instructors, were available in horticulture, bookkeeping, mechanical drawing, and commercial art. Classes in

printing and typesetting met in the newly installed print shop. Some courses were funded by the Work Progress Administration and the Federal Art Project.

The school schedule at Raiford consisted of four one-hour-and-twenty-minute day sessions with short recess periods. A semester lasted three months. The progress of students was recorded on individual charts, from which their future studies could be planned.¹⁷

The prison chaplain, L. O. Sheffield, acted as the Director of Education and W. C. Pendley held the position of principal. The school was directly conducted by A. W. Bates and W. W. North who later served as Education Director at Raiford until his death in 1958. The instructors were all volunteer inmates chosen for their high scores on the Stanford Achievement Test and their prior educational background.¹⁸

A typical inmate teaching staff, in 1941, included seven college graduates, two men with three years of college, and another six who had completed high school. In order to ensure an adequate supply of inmate instructors, inmates interested in teaching were carefully observed and appraised by inmate teacher supervisors on their teaching performances. Frequent meetings were held for discussing teacher-student problems that arose during the teaching day. On occasion, the superintendent himself would call together and conduct a "teachers' forum" for the purpose of improving the teacher-training program and planning curriculum. According to the prison official news journal the Raiford Record, the instructional staff held precise notions about the suitability of inmates for instruction:

even well qualified men academically may not fit the need as a teacher for the prison school. They may be too young and lack the necessary tact to handle men in prison or they may be too old

to assimilate new ideas and prison view points. . . . In most instances the teachers who are finally selected are first offenders and they are men with a better than average background for law violators.

In addition, the teachers of inmates need additional attributes: the successful teacher of prison inmates must be a diplomat, a psychologist, a disciplinarian, and a teacher, all rolled in one. He must have infinite patience, for the minds with which he has to deal are those which have usually been retarded since childhood. These men do not readily assimilate the knowledge of textbooks because they never really learned how to study. They come to the schoolroom with minds which are confused by a multitude of personal problems, and complete concentration is difficult.¹⁹

Throughout the latter 1930s, student enrollment in education at Raiford comprised a small proportion of the state's total inmate population. Most able-bodied inmates were sent to road camps and the rest were assigned to prison industries. In 1939, out of a total inmate population of 3600, 445 inmates worked in the prison industrial shops at Raiford and Belle Glade, and 180 participated in educational programs either as students or teachers.²⁰

The Davis Report

James Davis visited Raiford in 1939 on behalf of the Federal Prison Industries Reorganization Administration in Washington, D.C. While at Raiford, Davis inspected the industrial and educational activities at the facility. At that time he was told the student body numbered about 180 whites, of whom one-half were enrolled in horticulture. Blacks attended class separately at night, while women inmates were not offered any education programs. Davis described the financing of inmate education in Florida's state penal system:

It is particularly interesting to note that there is neither direct legislative authority nor mandate that such educational work should be undertaken. Mr. W. N. North, the educational director, is on the administrative payroll, is assisted by inmate teachers and is dependent on the personal efforts of the superintendent for the continuation of his program.²¹

Inmate attendance at the school was hampered because according to the law only seventy-five grade one classified inmates were retained at the prison. All others were used on the roads. As a result, the school was in danger of being almost emptied. Davis was told that inmates were restricted to six months of schooling at a time, following which they had to complete another six months of work before being eligible again for more education.

Public school districts near Raiford Prison donated whatever textbooks and equipment they could spare. Nevertheless, an adequate supply of such material was a constant source of concern to the Raiford school administrators.²²

Prisoners assigned to the state road camps could expect nothing in the way of education. According to Davis, "training courses, educational and recreational facilities and organized religious activities have no place in the present road camp system and will not have as long as road camp prisoners represent nothing more than so many hours of man labor."²³

The War Years

The American entrance into World War II involved every sector of the nation, as its energies and resources were focused on the destruction of the Axis powers. The scope of the war required tapping all sources of manpower available, including prison manpower. During the war years, the federal prison population dropped 25 percent but the prison industry, in one year, produced war goods worth over twenty million dollars.²⁴

The prisoners at Raiford were urged to make their contribution to the war effort. Inmates donated blood, purchased defense stamps and bonds, helped mail OPA ration books, and worked thousands of hours overtime producing a variety of items for use by the military.²⁵

A bright spot in the educational picture at Raiford during the war years was the establishment of its own high school in April, 1942. The high school section was grouped around five departments: mathematics, English, science, history, and language (offering French and Spanish).²⁶

The library at Raiford was well supplied with up-to-date magazines, newspapers and recently published books. The Textbook Service Division of the State Department of Education shipped consignments of new textbooks to the Raiford library and school on a fairly regular basis.

Belle Glade Prison Farm is Established

Between 1914 and 1949, only one other large prison facility for adults was added to the Florida prison system.

Belle Glade Prison Farm (then officially known as Farm Number Two, Farm Number One being Raiford Prison), was established in 1932 on over twenty-four hundred acres of agricultural land, near the town of Belle Glade in south central Florida. Intended as a medium security facility, it held 176 inmates in 1939, of which 160 were black. By 1946, according to an investigator, the farm's physical plant consisted of "a badly dilapidated and overcrowded single-story barracks, a rather substantial sugar mill, white and colored mess hall, five residences for the staff, and auxiliary maintenance and farm buildings" enclosed within a wire stockade. It was not until 1960 that an instructor was appointed to instruct the largely illiterate inmates in remedial reading.²⁷

Summary

Florida's second state prison at Raiford was originally intended as a clearing house for assignment of able-bodied convicts to the numerous

state-operated road maintenance camps. The prison itself was essentially a huge farm operated by convicts who were classified as being too old or infirm for rigorous work on the roads.

By 1925, with state support, the prison at Raiford had become an agricultural and industrial plant that was to generate much-needed dollars from sales of its products to state institutions and the public sector, throughout the depression. Though the inmate operation and servicing of the facility had grown more complex, there was no formalized program for training or educating inmates until 1932. In that year, with the encouragement of the new superintendent, C. H. Chapman, the first prison school was opened in Florida since the ill-fated attempt at education by Warden Malachi Martin in the previous century.

Education survived at the facility because prison staff volunteered to be teachers. Their work was supplemented by inmate instructors who possessed some formal education. The education program made modest gains without any financial support from the state. None of the revenue derived from prison labor was invested in their education. Only a small amount of money from the prison's canteen profits were used to support inmate education. As late as 1953, only \$1,530 was assigned to education, while athletics received \$15,765.²⁸

Agriculture Commissioner Nathan Mayo, the chief administrator of Florida's prisons, regarded convicted felons as a source of hard labor. Education and training, according to Mayo, were "frills." S. L. Walters, in charge of the prison division for Mayo, observed that "maybe I'm old-fashioned, but I can't but believe five or six lashes were pretty good medicine for a convict."²⁹ As long as the Commissioner held power, this view prevailed in Florida.

Notes

¹Seventeenth Biennial Report: 1921-1922 (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1923), p. 263.

²Twenty-Third Biennial Report: 1933-1934 (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1935), p. 7.

³Fourteenth Biennial Report: 1915-1916 (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1917), p. 9.

⁴Ibid., p. 24.

⁵Ibid., p. 44.

⁶House of Representatives Committee on Corrections, Probation and Parole, Report to the Legislature, "The Florida Correctional Process," (Tallahassee, Florida, April, 1978), p. 11.

⁷Nineteenth Biennial Report: 1925-1926 (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1927), pp. 8-9.

⁸J. S. Blicht, Florida's Prison System Today and Yesterday (A printed version of a series of articles appearing in the Tampa Tribune, written by the superintendent of the State Prison Farm at Raiford, Florida, n.d.), no page numbers. Article Four "Establishing Industries." Also see Literary Digest, "Brighter Side of Florida's Penal Methods," July 28, 1923, pp. 37-46.

⁹J. S. Blicht, op. cit., Article Nine.

¹⁰Senate Committee on Criminal Justice, Staff Report on Corrections, Parole and Probation, (Tallahassee, Florida, February, 1974), p. 146.

¹¹Nathan Mayo, Prison Report (Tallahassee, Florida: Department of Agriculture, 1955), p. 77. See also Select Committee on Corrections of the Florida Legislative Council, Florida's Correctional System (Tallahassee, Florida, January, 1955), p. 14.

¹²Tallahassee Democrat, May 22, 1955.

¹³James V. Bennett, The Florida State Correctional System: A Survey and Recommendations (Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Prisons, July 1, 1946), p. 4.

¹⁴James Davis, The Prison Problem in Florida: A Survey by the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration (Washington, D.C.: Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, June 13, 1939), pp. 33-42.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 10. See also Raiford Periscope, Vol. I, No. 6, (September 3, 1937), p. 3.

¹⁶Raiford Periscope, Vol. I, No. 11 (November 12, 1937), p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁸James Davis, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁹The Raiford Record, Vol. 5, No. 4 (May-June, 1943), pp. 15, 31.

²⁰James Davis, op. cit., pp. 11, 38.

²¹Ibid., p. 11.

²²Raiford Periscope, Vol. I, No. 1 (March, 1939), p. 16.

²³James Davis, op. cit., p. 72.

²⁴The Raiford Record, Vol. 7, No. 4 (July-August, 1945), p. 4.

²⁵The Raiford Record, Vol. 5, No. 4 (May-June, 1943), p. 5.

²⁶The Raiford Record, Vol. 5, No. 3 (March-April, 1943), p. 15.

²⁷James Davis, op. cit., p. 13; also James V. Bennett, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁸Florida Select Committee on Corrections, Florida's Correctional System (Tallahassee, Florida, 1955), p. 18; also Division of Corrections, Second Annual Report: 1959-1960 (Tallahassee, Florida, 1961), p. 15.

²⁹Tampa Tribune, October 3, 1945.

CHAPTER V

THE POST-WAR ERA AND THE CRISIS OF FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: THE EXPANSION OF INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION, 1945-1962

Florida in the Post-War Era

World War II helped open a new and prosperous era in Florida. The influx of thousands of armed forces personnel and their families into or near the state's numerous military training facilities, greatly increased its population and enhanced its economy. Many of those who savored Florida's pleasant climate during those years stayed on or else eventually returned as tourists or permanent settlers in the decades following the war. Between 1950 and 1970, Florida's population increased from below three million to almost seven million. In the post-war years Florida's major cities rapidly increased in size and population, particularly Miami, Jacksonville, and Tampa-St. Petersburg. During the same period the dominant agricultural economy was challenged by the steadily expanding tourist and recreation industry located throughout the southern portion of the Florida peninsula.

Problems in the Florida Prison System Become Public

Following the end of World War II, an increase in crime and felony convictions in Florida overwhelmed the state's archaic penal system. It led to prison problems which would eventually shake the system to its foundations. Reports of deplorable conditions within the Florida prison system began to surface in 1945. In September of that year, the Tampa

Tribune reported that "again and again there have been reports of cruelty and oppression" towards inmates in the Florida penal system. Overcrowding, beatings, and the widespread use of the "sweatbox" were common occurrences.¹ Commissioner Mayo, upon taking over official responsibility for Florida's prison system in 1923, approved the introduction of the three-foot-square, portable, solitary confinement cells as a replacement for the strap. The cells were so cramped that a prisoner was forced into an uncomfortable crouch. Over the years the continued use of the sweatbox was roundly condemned by the press and reform groups. Nevertheless, Mayo rejected its abolition. Instead, the commissioner told a reporter that: "I've never heard any prisoner complain about being too hot." In fact, he said he had heard of only one prisoner who suffered any ill effects from sweatbox confinement. "About 17 or 18 years ago, a guard neglected to give a Negro enough blankets and he had his toe frozen; in that case it turned out to be an icebox instead of a sweatbox."²

"Sweat," Mayo informed the public, "is the best remedy I know for crime."³ When Governor Millard Caldwell (1945-1949) asked the commissioner what could be done to eliminate brutal forms of punishment Mayo replied sarcastically: "why take the prisoner down and put him to bed and give him a novel to read."⁴ Mayo's outspoken views and penal practices according to James Bachhus, an investigative reporter, "scandalized the state and infuriated the political establishment."⁵

Mayo ignored the furor his policies and attitudes generated. Sweat boxes continued in use until a new state law in 1957, removed the commissioner from control of Florida Corrections.

The Bennett Report and Florida Prison Reform

In response to the newspapers and prison reform organizations critical of Florida's prison system, Governor Caldwell called for an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. In 1946, the Director of the Bureau James V. Bennett personally investigated Raiford and submitted the results of his findings to the governor and his cabinet. The report, entitled: "The Florida State Correctional System: A Survey and Recommendations," made the following observations about the administration and organization of the Florida penal system:

the Commissioner of Agriculture, an elected officer, is charged under the Constitution with the responsibility for supervising the state prison, which he administers by means of a Prison Bureau . . . one of the twelve divisions of the department.

The day-to-day control and administration of the prison . . . is vested in the Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, otherwise known as the Cabinet. . . . In actual practice the Commissioner of Agriculture gives over-all supervision to the prison . . . while the Cabinet disburses the funds and determines general policies. . . .

Conflicting authority and overlapping administration thus seem to mark the "top-side" of Florida's correctional system. Three state agencies--Agriculture, Institutions and Roads--divide the serious and difficult business of caring for and treating sentenced prisoners.⁶

Bennett also pointed out that "the State Road Department and the Office of the Commissioner of Agriculture have primary responsibilities in fields not connected with the custody of prisoners and members of the Cabinet have manifold duties in unrelated fields."⁷ He found that "those authorized to spend state funds for prisoners' care are divorced departmentally from the responsibilities of day-to-day administration."⁸ The overall lack of planning resulting from this division of authority negated any attempts to establish any "guiding philosophy for the training and

treatment of prisoners sentenced by the courts,"⁹ creating a lack of policy for the rehabilitation of prisoners.

Bennett reported that

vocational training and academic education are largely unknown at the prison. On the day of inspection, out of a population of 1,322, there were only 32 prisoners in the poorly equipped, bleak educational building at Raiford. This number included the inmate instructors. A room in the white women's wing at the prison is assigned to school and library work, but as could be determined it was utilized as the dining room for the unit staff.¹⁰

Director Bennett offered specific suggestions for improving the organization and administration of Florida Corrections:

centralization of all prison affairs in a new department of correction working under the state cabinet instead of the present three-agency control (Board of Commissioners of Public Institutions, The State Road Department and the Department of Agriculture). . . . General renovation of dilapidated institution buildings, construction of a central female correctional institution, construction of larger, permanent road camps . . . selection of prison employees on a merit basis . . . adoption of a classification program designed to treat each prisoner as an individual in an effort to get maximum results from rehabilitation efforts . . . establishment of adequate educational programs to curb idleness and improve their education.¹¹

The effects of the Bennett report were muted, producing limited immediate results as long as Commissioner Mayo administered the state's penal system. The findings, however, would lead to far-reaching consequences, serving as a catalyst for a major reform of the Florida correctional system which would take place eleven years after the report was issued.

Crisis in the Florida Penal System

By 1954, the Florida correctional system was seriously overcrowded, in spite of additional new facilities. Raiford, considered crowded in 1946 with 1,322 prisoners was forced eight years later to accommodate 1,942 inmates.

Superintendent Chapman at Raiford noted "the steady increase in prison population . . . the steady increase in white prisoners and the decrease of Negro prisoners . . . and the vast percentage of prisoners who have come from out of state."¹² The conditions, Chapman warned, were reaching intolerable limits at Raiford. "More than 200 prisoners are now housed in two buildings of the quonset type and some of them sleep in tiers three deep. Good sanitary conditions are impossible in such circumstances and security is likewise impossible."¹³

In April of 1955, J. G. Godwin, an assistant superintendent at Raiford Prison, was killed during an unsuccessful prison break by an inmate. The following May, Florida experienced its first major prison rebellion. Some two hundred prisoners, protesting poor living conditions, rioted at Raiford, resulting in the death of one inmate and thousands of dollars damage to prison facilities.

Five months before the Raiford riot, Superintendent Chapman retired. Firm, but essentially fair, he had led the prison through a depression, a war, and an unsettling post-war era. During his tenure, despite limited funding, he tried to transform Raiford into a modern correctional institution. He alone can be credited with reintroducing inmate rehabilitation through education into the Florida correctional system after a hiatus of over half a century.

Nathan Mayo and Florida Corrections

The retirement of Superintendent Chapman and the rising chorus of criticism aimed at Florida Corrections climaxed at a time when its aging chief administrator, Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo, was ill from

cancer. Despite his growing incapacitation, he refused to relinquish the position he would hold for a total of thirty-seven years, until his death in 1960.

Nathan Mayo entered politics as a Marion County Commissioner in 1913. By 1923 he had twice been elected to the State House of Representatives. As Chairman of the House Committee on Convicts, he came into his first direct contact with Florida prisons. In that capacity, he helped rid the state of the last vestiges of the convict lease system. In 1923, Governor Cary A. Hardee appointed Mayo Commissioner of Agriculture. Appropriately, the new appointee had made his livelihood in farming, livestock, flour milling, cotton ginning, and naval stores; all the major sources of wealth for Florida's plantocracy.

In a state whose wealth was primarily agricultural, the Commissioner of Agriculture could wield an uncommon degree of political power. Mayo could count on the state's well-organized agricultural groups for support. Martin La Godna, the Commissioner's political biographer, believed that

as a cabinet member, Mayo had a voice equal with the governor's in many decisions affecting the whole state. If a governor bucked him, he could strike back or, as was his usual habit, simply wait for a new, more amiable governor since, until 1955, the chief executive could not succeed himself.¹⁴

His powerful hand was further strengthened from fees collected for agricultural services, making his department financially semi-autonomous. According to a former State Senator Edward H. Price, Jr.: "Nathan Mayo may have been the strongest political figure in Florida during its entire history."¹⁵ During his tenure Commissioner Mayo encouraged the modernization of Florida's agriculture, helping make the state one of the nation's leading food producers. The state's pride in the progress of its agricultural

economy, however, was somewhat diminished by the adverse publicity created by its archaic penal system.

The Florida Corrections Code of 1957

In 1955, Florida elected a liberal Democratic administration led by Governor Le Roy Collins (1955-1961). Collins ran on a platform of progressive leadership and social stability as a means of attracting industry to Florida.¹⁶ In keeping with his political program the governor helped initiate reform legislation of the state's penal system.

James C. Merritt, the state's assistant attorney, who was responsible for drafting the new penal legislation, noted that "Florida's archaic penal system, considered by many the most sordid aspect of our state government, seems finally destined for a complete overhaul."¹⁷ The final result passed by the state legislature, the Florida Correction Code of 1957, marked a major turning point in the history of Florida Corrections.

The new Code created a Division of Corrections independent of the Department of Agriculture and solely responsible to the state's Board of Commissioners of State Institutions, headed by the governor. The Code granted the new Division a large degree of autonomy in the administration of essential prison programs and services.

For the first time in Florida's history, the legislature specifically authorized the implementing of inmate rehabilitation through education by providing prisoners with access to education "to be given by public or private educational agencies of the state."¹⁸ All inmate education programs were placed under the scrutiny and approval of the State Board of Education.

The Code further stated that:

- (1) The board shall establish educational programs for the prisoners under the jurisdiction of the department utilizing personnel of the department, or by arranging for instruction to be given by the public or private educational agencies of the state.
- (2) The director shall cooperate with the county board of public instruction and the state department of education, who may establish and maintain classes for prisoners under the jurisdiction of the department to provide instruction of a vocational, adult or academic nature designed to meet the needs of said prisoners. Such instruction is to be under the supervision and control of the county board of public instruction in which the institution is located. For the organization and operation of these classes, county boards of instruction are authorized to expend funds available to them either from local powers or through the minimum foundation program as provided by the law.¹⁹

Progress of Inmate Rehabilitation Through Education: 1957-1962

Up until 1957, Florida did little for inmate education. The state ignored the educational needs of its prisoners. With the passage of the new Code, Florida finally acknowledged the need for a full-scale program of inmate rehabilitation through education.

At Raiford Prison, R. E. Upton assumed the role of Acting Director of Education upon the death of W. N. North, in June of 1958. North had guided inmate education at Raiford through the latter years of the Depression, World War II and the Post-war era with minimal help or encouragement from Tallahassee.

The new director's immediate tasks called for "a complete revision of the academic program for the first eight grades."²⁰ Upton planned to increase the enrollment of qualified inmates in academic studies and vocational training. He hoped to obtain modern visual aids and replace the "outdated texts now in use with the latest editions of state textbooks."²¹ In September of 1958, two salaried teachers were hired one for academic subjects and the

other for vocational agriculture. This was the first modest attempt at eventually eliminating the widespread use of inmate instructors. By January of 1959, an additional instructor was added because of increased enrollment.

For the next two years, Director Upton submitted educational plans and budgets to the new superintendent at Raiford, De Witt Sinclair. Upton's plans included a recommendation for opening a job placement office for trained inmates. During this same period, two new vocational classrooms were constructed for teaching courses in office machine repair and radio-television repair.

Financing of Inmate Education Increases

Beginning in 1958, inmate education was included in the state's Minimal Foundation Program operated by the Florida Department of Education. The program funded improvements in public educational facilities throughout the state so as to assure equal educational opportunities for all its pupils.²² With sufficient Minimal Foundation Program funding and supplementary allowances from the Division of Corrections, education departments were established or expanded in all major prison facilities. Programs focused on upgrading the basic academic and vocational skills of the inmates, 75 percent of whom had never advanced beyond the eighth grade. Of the total inmate population, only 1 percent had passed beyond the eleventh grade.²³

The results of the new concern for inmate education were soon forthcoming. Between 1960 and 1962, with increasing financial support, inmate student enrollment at Union Correctional Institution rose from about seventy

to over two hundred. The civilian, full-time teaching staff increased to seven. During the same two-year period, 115 diplomas and certificates of achievement were awarded to over 400 inmate students matriculating at Florida State Prison.²⁴

Adult education programs in county school districts, through sponsorship of the State Department of Education, were established in thirty of the state's thirty-six road prisons, offering opportunities to earn high school equivalency diplomas.²⁵

The Florida Correctional Institution at Lowell, for women offenders, established business training courses in typewriting, shorthand, book-keeping, and office procedures. In June, 1960, twenty of the facility's inmates graduated with high school diplomas.²⁶

Richard O. Culver Appointed Director of Florida Corrections

After searching for a strong administrator to carry out the reform of the Florida correctional system, Governor Le Roy Collins selected the new Division of Corrections Director from the ranks of the federal prison system. The new administrator, Richard O. Culver, was highly endorsed by the federal prison director, James V. Bennett. At the time of his selection, Culver was warden of the federal reformatory at Petersburg, Virginia, and a twenty-year veteran of the federal prison system.

When the new division director assumed his post in 1957, the Florida correctional system had expanded to include five major institutions and thirty-six road camps spread across the state. The inmate population numbered nearly six thousand.²⁷

Director Culver immediately tackled the major problems of Florida Corrections using the broad general authority granted him by the Correctional Code of 1957. Applying its mandate, Culver established new organizational policies and administrative rules carried out under a single, unified operation.

The new correctional administration replaced punishment with modern rehabilitation policies and practices. Education was now considered the primary method of inmate reformation. A first step in the program was the authorization for the construction of a Reception and Medical Center for processing all new inmates into Florida Corrections. The Center opened in 1966, at Lake Butler, Florida, near the Raiford Prison complex. At the Center inmates are classified, tested, and evaluated for educational placement.

The Culver-Johns Feud

The Corrections Department also turned its attention to the personnel of the newly organized system. Louie L. Wainwright, Florida's present head of Corrections, reports that Culver's efforts to tighten control over the entire department was "met with considerable resistance from the superintendents of the various institutions who had operated independently prior to the creation of the Division in 1957."²⁸ When the new agency attempted to improve the quality of the prison staff by instituting a merit system and firing incompetents, the action was met by an outcry of protest from within the organization and from outside politicians fearing they might lose their patronage prerogatives.

Nevertheless, the state administration seemingly supported Director Culver's replacement of incompetent political appointees with formerly

retired federal prison personnel. One newspaper reported, "the Cabinet, which the Legislature authorized to run the prison with personnel of its own selection, has given Culver a full vote of confidence."²⁹

The State Senate, however, decided to create a committee and investigate Director Culver's correctional policies and practices, with the intention of replacing Culver. A member of the State Senate Investigating Committee, Charley E. Johns, led the attack on the director.³⁰

Charley Johns was an old-timer in Florida politics, having entered the Florida House twenty-five years earlier. From 1953 to 1954, Johns had served as acting governor of the state. His political constituency included Raiford Prison, a prime patronage plum. Johns initiated a campaign to discredit Director Culver's policies with the aim of eventually having him ousted from his position.

Prior to a showdown meeting he planned to have with Culver, Johns wrote to the State Prison at Raiford recommending that it hire a Lawtey, Florida constituent of his, who was "deserving and needed a job," noting that some of his previous employment recommendations had been ignored. "If he does not get the job I will be hard to live with," said Johns.³¹ The senator described his choice for the prison as "a fine boy, but his education is limited. He can sign his name, but his reading is poor."³² The matter was not handled to John's satisfaction, and he called for a private meeting with Director Culver. The visit was held at Raiford Prison. According to Johns, "Culver cursed me out for complaining against his importing of a lot of out-of-state retired federal men for jobs men already working in our prisons were qualified for."³³ Johns expressed the view that "Culver's idea that a man must have a high school education to carry a gun

is asinine."³⁴ The Johns-instigated feud had reached its climax and needed settling if progress was to be made in building a new state correctional system.

In the end Johns was to have his way. Governor Collins, bowing to the constitutionally questionable activities of the State Senate Investigating Committee, fired Director Culver in early 1959 and replaced him with the Director of the State Beverage Department, H. G. Cochran, Jr.

The Cochran Interlude

The appointment of H. G. Cochran, Jr. as the new Director of the Florida Division of Corrections in early 1959 helped calm the furor created by the Culver-Johns feud. In the three years of his appointment, the Florida Division of Corrections continued to expand. The inmate population, in June of 1962, reached eight thousand. By 1961, the state's five major correctional facilities and thirty road prisons provided inmate education programs. In that same year, the state legislature authorized the construction of two more major facilities.³⁵

Probably Director Cochran's most enduring contributions to Florida Corrections were the steps he took to organize, centralize, and improve a number of correctional policies and practices on a statewide basis. To achieve this, uniform accounting methods, and formalized policies and procedures were published. Cochran created a new, centralized records section with control over movement, location, and confinement of all inmates in the system. An Advisory Council on Adult Correction and Prison Industries was established to supervise inmate rehabilitation through education and meaningful work. In 1962, the director unexpectedly resigned and entered private business.

Summary

Despite the widely advertised problems encountered by Florida Corrections between 1945 and the resignation of Corrections Director H. G. Cochran, Jr. in 1962, the state began taking the first major steps towards creating a modern correctional system that promoted inmate rehabilitation through education. During this period Apalachee and Sumter Correctional Institutions were specifically built for incarcerating youthful first offenders in an environment emphasizing rehabilitation through academic and vocational education. In 1956, all female inmates were transferred from Raiford to the new Florida Correctional Institution for Women at Lowell, Florida.

Avon Park Correctional Institution, established in 1957, represented the most modern penological institution opened in Florida up to that time. It emulated the nationally recognized "open prison" concept of incarceration as then practiced at a model state prison in Chino, California.

In 1961, all the road prisons were transferred from the State Road Department to the Division of Corrections, ending years of controversy over the treatment of prisoners assigned to road details.

Overcrowding, a major problem of the Florida prison system since the 1940s, was further complicated by the question of where to assign the growing number of inmates classified as requiring maximum security supervision. The prison at Raiford, the only major facility capable of holding a large number of maximum security inmates, was dangerously overcrowded. In order to alleviate the problem a new facility, designated the East Unit, about a mile away from Raiford Prison, was opened in 1960, with a capacity to hold 1,330 inmates in individual cells. The East Unit was eventually

renamed the Florida State Prison, and Raiford Prison became officially known as Union Correctional Institution. Despite the addition of new prison space, the growth of the inmate population would continue to create problems for Florida in the years to come.

Notes

¹Tampa Tribune, September 28, 1945.

²Tampa Tribune, September 26, 1945.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Committee on Corrections, Probation and Parole of the Florida House of Representatives, Report to the Legislature: The Florida Correctional Process (Tallahassee, Florida, April, 1978), p. 26.

⁶James V. Bennett, The Florida State Correctional System: A Survey and Recommendations (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Prisons, July 1, 1946), pp. 2-3.

⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁸Ibid., p. 5.

⁹Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 1-2.

¹²Thirty-Third Biennial Report: 1953-1954 (Tallahassee, Florida, Department of Agriculture, 1955), p. 2.

¹³Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴Martin M. LaGodna, The Florida State Department of Agriculture During the Administration of Nathan Mayo, 1923-1960. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1970, p. 136.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁶Charlton Tebeau, A History of Florida (Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 442.

¹⁷James C. Merritt, quoted in The Florida Correctional Process, (April, 1978), p. 33.

¹⁸Laws of Florida (1957), Ch. 944-945, pp. 3007-3019.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 3009-3010.

²⁰The Raiford Record, Vol. 20, No. 4 (July-August, 1958), p. 15.

²¹Ibid., p. 15.

²²R. E. Upton, Jr., An Approach to Rehabilitation through Education (Raiford, Florida, 1959), p. 13.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Education Department Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Raiford, Florida: Florida State Prison, June 30, 1960), p. 1; see also Third Biennial Report: July 1, 1960 - June 30, 1962 (Tallahassee, Florida: Division of Corrections), pp. 13-14.

²⁵Third Biennial Report: July 1, 1960 - June 30, 1962, op. cit., p. 14.

²⁶Second Biennial Report, July 1, 1959 - June 30, 1960 (Tallahassee, Florida: Division of Corrections, 1960), p. 15.

²⁷Louie L. Wainwright, A History of Florida's Correctional System: 1832-1978, Master's Thesis, Nova University, 1978, p. 40.

²⁸Ibid., p. 42.

²⁹Tallahassee Democrat, December 16, 1958.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Tallahassee Democrat, April 16, 1959.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Louie L. Wainwright, op. cit., p. 43.

CHAPTER VI

THE WAINWRIGHT ERA IN FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION COMES OF AGE, 1962-1980

Florida's Economy Expands and Diversifies

The 1960s signaled a new era of dynamic economic growth for Florida. President Kennedy's promise to make America first to reach the moon greatly accelerated the space launch program at Cape Canaveral. Scientists and engineers from all over the nation moved to Florida. In the wake of the space program, a number of high technology oriented companies, such as Martin Marietta, opened plants and offices in the state.

During this same period agribusiness became an important economic factor in Florida agriculture. Firms such as Coca-Cola and Ralston Purina developed large scale agricultural industries resulting in major citrus and vegetable crop yields. Agribusiness farms attracted migrant workers from throughout America and elsewhere.

The state's favorable climate and easy access to ocean or gulf seashores contributed to Florida's popular image as a vacation haven. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the tourist and recreation industry emerged as a major economic force in the state. Mammoth recreation complexes such as Sea World and Disney World helped attract tourists from all over the world in greater numbers. Employment opportunities expanded over most of the state though much of it was of a seasonal nature.

Florida's Population Growth and Urbanization

Since 1960, Florida's population doubled from about five million to nearly ten million. Between 1970 and 1980, 92 percent of the population increase was due to net migration into the state from elsewhere. Over the past twenty years, Florida has served as a haven for Cuban and Haitian refugees escaping from political and economic oppression in their home countries. Upwards of over 850,000 immigrants of Hispanic origin have greatly contributed to the growth of metropolitan areas such as Miami and Tampa, resulting in a dramatic shift in the cultural and demographic composition of the lower Florida peninsula.¹

Crime Growth in Florida

Along with the population increases and urbanization, crime in Florida has also grown in the past twenty years. In 1980 alone, all violent crime in Florida increased by 27 percent, according to James W. York, Commissioner of the Florida Department of Law Enforcement. Furthermore, the commissioner reported:

The disturbing progression in the growth of crime in our state continues. Since 1977, the volume of index crimes has risen on an annual basis by 3.6, 6.8, 12.1 and now 18 percent. The numbers authenticate a dangerous trend. Violent crimes of the kind that drive citizens behind locked doors are rising drastically. Last year murder increased 28 percent. Robbery, spurred by worsening economic conditions, leaped almost 54 percent . . . the increase in crime is not confined to our larger cities. While crime in metropolitan areas has increased 24.1 percent, smaller cities reflect a 16.5 percent increase, and even our rural areas are affected by a 14.3 percent increase in crime. The potential for a crisis in crime is fast approaching the probability stage.²

Florida's Illegal Drug Problem

Florida's dubious distinction as America's drug capital has added a sinister and violent dimension to the state's overall crime problem. In 1981, a national news magazine reported that: "seventy percent of all cocaine and marijuana enters the United States through Florida."³ The 1,800 miles of coastline, flat terrain, widespread wilderness and forest areas offer easy access into the state for drug smugglers coming from the Caribbean by ship or airplane. The quick profits gained from drug smuggling has attracted a growing number of Floridians, including both public officials and private citizens. According to a press report, "law enforcement officials say almost every police agency in the state (of Florida) has been touched in some way by drug corruption."⁴ Drug dealing is estimated to be the state's most profitable business, totalling between seven to ten billion dollars a year. The federal and state criminal justice systems have had little success in controlling the illegal importation, manufacture, and sale of drugs. According to its Annual Report, Florida's Department of Corrections, as of June 30, 1980, held 1,285 felons convicted of illegal narcotics possession, but only four for illegal narcotics sale and manufacture.⁵

The Wainwright Era: Problems and Progress in Florida Corrections, 1962-1980

In June 1962, H. G. Cochran unexpectedly resigned as Director of the Florida Division of Corrections. The following month, Louie L. Wainwright was appointed Director by Governor C. Farris Bryant (1961-1965). The new prison chief was a native of Lawtey, Florida, nearby the state prison at Raiford where he first worked as a guard. In 1957, Wainwright, by then a captain, was transferred to Avon Park Correctional Institution, becoming its

superintendent by year's end. The Avon Park correctional facility was a new showcase prison modeled after the experimental Chino, California "open" institution. As a result of Superintendent Wainwright's demonstrated administrative abilities during his five years at Avon Park, Director Cochran, with the endorsement of the powerful state senator Charley E. Johns, recommended him to the governor as his replacement.⁶ The new director assumed leadership of Florida Corrections in a period of social unrest kindled by civil rights agitation and a growing opposition to the Viet Nam War throughout the country.

During the approximately two decades between 1960 and 1980 of the Wainwright era, the Florida correctional system added twenty major facilities to the five already operating in 1960. During this same period, the Florida Corrections staff rose from about 1,000 to 8,900 and the inmate population more than tripled in size, from about 6,000 to just below 20,000. The size of the Florida Department of Corrections, in 1980, ranked fourth in the nation, exceeded only by New York, California, and Texas.⁷

Since Florida Corrections was first created as a separate agency of state government in 1957, it has undergone several major reorganizations. In 1969, the Division of Corrections was placed under the newly formed Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services. The new Department acted as an umbrella agency encompassing a wide range of state human service organizations. Administration of the huge superagency proved to be too unwieldy and inefficient. In 1975, the State Legislature passed the Correctional Organization Act which authorized the establishment of an independent, up-graded Department of Offender Rehabilitation. The Department's name was once again changed, in 1978, to the Department of Corrections.

The Wainwright era in Florida Corrections also witnessed some disturbing events which helped prod the state's lawmakers into funding the construction of a modern prison system.

In 1967, the old wooden barracks at a state prison road camp outside of Jay, Florida, caught fire, killing thirty-eight inmates. Shortly before the fire, a prison inspector had given the facility a satisfactory safety rating.⁸

Overcrowding and desegregation of the prison system in the 1960s sparked a number of violent incidents, culminating in a bloody race riot at Sumter Correctional Institution in May of 1963, injuring sixty-seven inmates. The facility, originally designed to house 576 inmates, instead held about 800 at the time. In February, 1971, a riot broke out at the Main Unit of Florida State Prison at Raiford, injuring sixty-three inmates.⁹ In one year, 1975, 4,294 convicted felons were admitted into the state correctional system, "a number" according to Secretary Wainwright "greater than the total inmate population in any one of 32 states."¹⁰ The overcrowding was so critical that tents and equipment were borrowed from the National Guard and used for housing 280 inmates on the sports field of Florida State Prison. The construction of additional cells capable of holding 1,850 beds still proved to be insufficient. A class action suit (Costello vs. Wainwright), initiated by a group of inmates in 1972, demanded a reduction of prison overcrowding and an improvement in the medical facilities.¹¹

Nevertheless, progress was being made throughout Florida's correctional system as the state lawmakers supported its modernization. In 1980, Secretary Wainwright outlined some of the accomplishments that had been achieved:

Despite the increase from 10,000 to 20,000 inmates (between 1972 and 1980), major improvements have been made. Health care appropriations have increased from \$382.33 per year per inmate in Fiscal Year 1972-1973 to \$668.45 per year per inmate in Fiscal Year 1980-1981. The total amount appropriated for operation of the prison system has increased from \$35,935,680 in Fiscal Year 1972-1973 to \$188,538,543 for Fiscal Year 1980-1981. Finally, approximately \$141,000,000 has been appropriated by the Legislature since Fiscal Year 1972-1973 for the construction of new prisons.¹²

The Endwright Task Force Program for Improving Florida Inmate Education

Expansion of inmate education throughout the Florida correctional system was spurred on by an important inmate education report issued in 1967 entitled: "A Plan for Expansion and Development of Education Departments of the Florida Division of Corrections." The plan was developed under the direction of Correctional Education Coordinator, David K. Endwright and a task force of education experts from Florida State University and the Florida Department of Education. The Endwright Task Force study outlined a strategy for a major revamping and expansion of inmate education in the state's correctional system. The study called for close cooperation between the Division of Corrections and the Department of Education. Important goals cited in the report included the replacement of all inmate instructors with state certified instructors, and the upgrading of all inmate education facilities to meet state accreditation standards. A new and innovative curriculum was recommended for all grade levels of academic and vocational education. The study advised that post-secondary education should be provided in association with the state's community colleges and universities.

Endwright's research team suggested the establishment of a teaching internship program in conjunction with the state colleges of education. The plan envisioned inmate education facilities as student teacher centers. The proposed internship program could be offered for course credit to graduate and undergraduate students majoring in fields such as adult education, physical education, vocational education, educational administration, and the behavioral sciences as well. Such an arrangement, the task force reasoned, would help recruit future teachers for the correctional system.¹³

The Endwright task force plan for improving inmate education served as a major guideline for future governors and legislatures, who in the ensuing years enacted many of its recommendations.

Objectives of Florida Inmate Education

The process of centralizing the administration and planning of inmate education on a statewide basis was boosted by the creation of the Bureau of Education and Career Development in 1974. In 1975 the Bureau issued a new study for improving inmate education entitled: "A Plan for Comprehensive Academic and Vocational Education." The purpose of the plan was to develop a strategy for carrying out the provisions of the Correctional Reform Act of 1974. The Act authorized expanded education and job training opportunities for the state's convicted offenders. The plan presented the following objectives:

1. To establish a system of accountability in the education department of each institution.
2. To develop extensive learning laboratories for individualized instruction in basic skills. Occupational education should be correlated with basic academic subjects.

3. To require that teachers, in addition to meeting state certification requirements in their field of specialization, participate in adult education staff development programs which may consist of course work, workshops, etc.
4. To broaden the educational curriculum to include more social and coping skills, particularly consumer and family life education.
5. To develop vocational programs relevant to the employment world and based on factors related to increasing the offenders' marketable skills:
 - a. Vocational needs of inmate population.
 - b. Job market analysis of existing and emerging occupations.
 - c. Job performance analysis, including skills and knowledge needed to acquire the occupation.
6. To develop a set of measurable behavioral objectives appropriate to all academic and vocational programs.
7. To conduct active in-service teacher training programs at all institutions, providing information on the latest trends, methods, and innovations in the various fields.
8. To establish class size on a ratio of 12 students to 1 teacher.
9. To use an academic and vocational advisory council to assist and advise in the growth and development of programs. The council should include members from various agencies representing both academic and vocational education.
10. To establish an active job placement program to help residents find employment related to skills training received.
11. To provide a variety of instructional materials including audio tapes, teaching machines, books and television to stimulate individual motivation and interest.
12. To utilize the services of local colleges, vocational schools, public school systems, federally funded projects, and community action groups when practical.
13. To involve not less than 60% of the educationally deficient inmates in a full or part time education program.¹⁴

Growth of Florida Inmate Education: 1962-1980

Much progress was made between 1962 and 1980 in reaching many of the objectives established by the two Florida Corrections inmate education plans. In 1951, the first year of the high school equivalency program, thirteen Raiford inmates were awarded General Education Development (G.E.D.) diplomas. In the year 1980, the number of G.E.D. diplomas earned by inmates reached 1,300. Between 1972 and 1980 inmate enrollment in vocational education and on-the-job training programs rose from 415 to over 2,600. In this same period all inmate education enrollments increased from approximately 3,000 to over 7,000. In 1965, inmate education opportunities were broadened with the introduction of post-secondary education classes conducted by local community colleges.¹⁵

During the administrations of Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. (1967-1971), and Reubin O'D. Askew (1971-1979), funding for inmate education increased substantially. In 1968, Governor Kirk signed into law a 1.5 million dollar appropriation for classroom construction and equipment, and the appointment of additional teaching staff and administrators. In the 1980 fiscal year the budget for inmate education in Florida had grown to 6.5 million dollars. Funding also included over one million dollars from federal grants such as the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA Title I), and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).¹⁶

Beginning in 1968, inmate instructors were phased out of instructional duties as full-time state certified teachers were hired to replace them. Instructional and administrative staff rose from 160 in 1973 to over 300 in 1975. In 1980, education personnel in Florida Corrections numbered over 450, including librarians, counselors, recreation directors and curriculum specialists.¹⁷

Legislative Support of Inmate Rehabilitation through Education

In 1974, the state legislature passed the Florida Correctional Reform Act. The legislation emphasized the rehabilitation of the state's confined felons through education. The law noted that Florida was spending sixty million dollars to maintain its state correctional system yet crime was still increasing. It regarded as a major source of the crime problem:

the general inability of ex-offenders to find or keep meaningful employment. Although ninety percent of all offenders sent to prison return to society one day, the correctional system has done little to provide the offender with the vocational skills he needs to return to society as a productive citizen.

These changes must not be made out of sympathy for the criminal or out of disregard of the threat of crime to society. They must be made precisely because that threat is too serious to be countered by ineffective methods.¹⁸

The Act went on to authorize:

the development of plans for comprehensive vocational and educational training of offenders and their evaluation within each institution, program or facility of the Division based upon the identified needs of the offender and the requirements of the employment market to which he shall return upon release.¹⁹

In 1975, the Florida State Legislature again addressed the prison problem by issuing the sweeping Correctional Organization Act, elevating the Division of Corrections to departmental status. The Act states that among the goals of the newly reorganized department is:

to provide rehabilitative programs which may include both academic and vocational education to incarcerated offenders and offenders being supervised in the community.²⁰

The two laws added more support to the full-scale development of a statewide inmate education program aimed at serving the academic, vocational, and social-psychological skills and needs of all its incarcerated felons.

Summary

Over the past twenty years of the Wainwright era, inmate rehabilitation through education made dramatic gains in Florida. The Department of Corrections has consistently encouraged and supported inmate education. During this period the administration of inmate education was centralized in Tallahassee, the state capital, and organized on a statewide basis. Most of the state correctional facilities were provided with fully accredited instructional staff, classrooms and offices. Course work was broadened to include a wide spectrum of programs aimed at improving the academic and vocational skills of inmates from elementary to college level. Programs were also introduced which focused on inmates' social and psychological needs and problems.

Florida's prison industries also thrived. New product lines were added and markets increased. In 1963, the state legislature authorized the limiting of sales mainly to state institutions, county school boards and sheriffs' departments. The Bureau of Correctional Industries supervised industrial and agricultural operations in six major correctional institutions by the early 1970s. The facilities produced over one hundred products with a sales value exceeding four million dollars.²¹

In 1976, the state legislature appropriated eleven million dollars to the Corrections Industrial Trust Fund for investment in prison industrial expansion. In the previous year sales from prison industries reached a new high of almost eight million dollars.²²

The Florida Department of Corrections, during the Wainwright era, expanded its prison industries and provided more inmates with educational opportunities than at any time in the history of the Florida prison system.

Notes

¹The Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Florida Population Statistics: 1970-1980 (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1981), pp. 5-6.

²Department of Law Enforcement, Annual Report (Tallahassee, Florida, 1980), p. iii.

³Newsweek, July 20, 1981, p. 30.

⁴Gainesville Sun, July 16, 1981.

⁵Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), pp. 58, 61.

⁶Department of Corrections, Correctional Compass (Tallahassee, Florida), August-September, 1962, p. 1.

⁷Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 2.

⁸Louie L. Wainwright, A History of Florida's Correctional System, 1832-1978, M.A. thesis, Nova University, 1978, p. 49.

⁹Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 57.

¹¹Ibid., p. 58.

¹²Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980, op. cit., p. 14.

¹³David K. Endwright, A Plan for Expansion and Development of Education Departments of the Florida Division of Corrections (Tallahassee, Florida, 1967), pp. 1-59.

¹⁴Division of Corrections, "A Plan for Comprehensive Academic and Vocational Education," (Tallahassee, Florida, 1975), pp. 4-5.

¹⁵Department of Offender Rehabilitation, Overview of Education Programs in the Department of Offender Rehabilitation (Tallahassee, Florida, 1978), p. 1. See also, Department of Corrections, Division of Community Colleges-Department of Corrections Cooperative Efforts (Tallahassee, Florida, 1979), p. 1.

¹⁶Division of Corrections, A Plan for Comprehensive Academic and Vocational Education (Tallahassee, Florida, 1975), pp. 2, 8.

¹⁷Division of Corrections, A Comprehensive Plan for Academic and Vocational Education (Tallahassee, Florida, 1975), p. 8. See also, Department of Corrections, Educational Plans: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), Appendix B.

¹⁸Laws of Florida (1974), CH. 74-112, p. 333.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 335.

²⁰Laws of Florida (1975), CH. 75-49, p. 115.

²¹Division of Corrections, Fourth Biennial Report: 1962-1964 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 14. See also, Division of Corrections, First Annual Report: 1972-1973 (Tallahassee, Florida), pp. 31-32.

²²Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 23.

CHAPTER VII

INMATE REHABILITATION THROUGH EDUCATION IN FLORIDA CORRECTIONS: 1980

Administration and Organization of Florida Corrections

The Florida Department of Corrections, headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida, is a major state agency responsible for administering the seventy-six statewide correctional facilities and regional offices. The department's staff, numbering 8,900, is responsible for supervising about 20,000 convicted offenders. The department has declared that its

primary mission . . . is to protect society by incarcerating convicted offenders or supervising offenders in the community. The department's secondary mission is to offer every offender the education, training, work experience and counseling necessary to return to society as a productive and law abiding citizen.¹

Its chief officer, the department secretary, is appointed by the governor, subject to the approval of the state senate. In the absence of the secretary, the deputy secretary administers the department.(Appendix B).

Three assistant secretaries are in charge of all department programs, operations, and budgets. The Florida Correctional system is divided into five regions, administered by the assistant secretary of operations. Each regional office has been delegated many responsibilities, including administering many financial and personnel matters and maintenance of regional offices and correctional facilities.(Appendices A and C).

The assistant secretary for programs has the overall responsibility for inmate education in the Florida Correctional system. His general responsibilities are:

1. Coordinating and integrating the program offices
2. Program development and planning as assigned by the Secretary
3. Service Program development and planning
4. Program Research
5. Identifying client needs
6. Recommend solutions and priorities
7. Program development including policies and standards
8. Reviewing and monitoring regional level program operations
9. Providing technical assistance to Regional Directors
10. Assuring uniform program quality among regions
11. Developing funding sources external to State Government
12. Obtaining, approving, monitoring and coordinating research and program development grants.²

Inmate Education in Florida Corrections: The Health
and Education Program Office

The Correctional Reform Act of 1974 authorized the establishment of the Bureau of Education and Career Development. The bureau is now known as the Bureau of Education Services, directly under the Health and Education Program Office of the Department of Corrections.

The Health and Education Program Office of the Department of Corrections in Tallahassee, Florida, is responsible for the overall planning, monitoring, evaluation, and research of inmate educational programs throughout the Florida Correctional system. The director of the office reports to the department's assistant secretary of programs. Specific duties of the office are:

1. Identify client education needs
2. Develop education program policies
3. Set, monitor, and control the quality of education program standards
4. Provide for staff development, training, and technical assistance in the area of education
5. Develop program plans, directives, rules, and regulations for education programs
6. Develop education and rehabilitation programs
7. Provide research on health and education practices
8. Develop education statistics for statistical reports and research data
9. Perform other duties as assigned by the secretary.³

The Bureau of Education Services

The Bureau of Education Services is responsible for supervising, coordinating, and evaluating the inmate education policies and programs in the twenty-five correctional institutions and other prison facilities. The bureau chief reports to the director of the Health and Education Program Office. Some specific duties of the office are:

1. Provide for periodic review and updating of existing plan for comprehensive academic and vocational education
2. Coordinate CETA programs throughout the department
3. Provide technical assistance to vocational instructors at the regional and local level
4. Coordinate Title I academic programs throughout the department
5. Provide technical assistance to academic instructors at the regional and local level
6. Evaluate academic and vocational programs

7. Provide input to the budgetary process on matters relating to vocational and academic education
8. Monitor vocational and academic educational workloads to insure planning for sufficient staff to meet American Correctional Association, State Department of Education, and Department of Corrections standards on education
9. Develop a department-wide standard curriculum for the various vocational and academic educational courses
10. Develop and monitor in-service educational staff training programs throughout the department
11. Recommend and modify policies, guidelines, and directives for vocational and academic educational programs
12. Consult with architects and planners and provide input for developing educational facilities.⁴

A Profile of Inmates in the Florida State Correctional System

About 75 percent of convicted felons admitted every year to the Florida correctional system since 1960 are young males aged eighteen to twenty-five, of which approximately 50 percent are black. This particular age group has, historically, been the source of most crime in the state, according to Florida penal authorities; males in this age group are labeled the "population at risk." For each 10,000 increase in the population at risk, the Florida Department of Corrections projects an increase of 128 state prison admissions. This particular population has increased by 2.2 percent in Florida between 1979 and 1980.⁵

The relationship between criminal behavior and unemployment is supported by statistical data gathered in constructing a composite profile of all confined felons, including the population at risk. At the time of arrest, 38 percent of the state's inmates were unemployed as compared to an overall state unemployment rate of 6.0 percent.⁶

The compiled data portrays the inmates as individuals burdened with a combination of personal, social and educational disabilities including:

1. Coming from a broken home (51 percent)
2. Use of drugs and/or alcohol (76 percent)
3. Occupationally unskilled (43 percent)
4. Scores at a sixth-grade-level education
5. Mean I.Q. scales of white males = 104.1; of black males = 90.6
white females = 98.9; black females = 80.87

Adult Basic Education

Nearly 20 percent of the convicted felons entering the Florida correctional system score below the fifth grade level in reading as measured by Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE). In order to correct this and other academic deficiencies, regular, full-time classes covering subject matter in grades one through eight are conducted throughout Florida's correctional system. A special Adult Basic Education program is provided at seven of the state's major correctional institutions having a large population of youthful offenders under twenty-one years of age. The program is designed to supplement the regular academic and vocational courses the inmates are attending. The aim of the supplemental, remedial program is to provide instruction in the basic academic skills of mathematics, reading, and the language arts for inmates scoring low on the TABE testing. The program is funded by a one-half-million-dollar federal grant under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA Title I). Regular elementary and high school classes are conducted in classroom

settings by a staff of almost two hundred State Department of Education certified teachers.⁸

The General Educational Development Program

The General Educational Development program (GED) prepares student inmates to pass the GED examination. Those who are successful receive from the Florida Department of Education a high school General Equivalency Diploma. Academic preparation for obtaining the high school equivalency diploma is conducted in regular classrooms on a full-time basis. In 1980, over thirteen hundred inmates successfully passed the GED examination.⁹

Vocational Education

In 1980, the Florida Department of Corrections offered vocational courses in thirty-three different trade areas at nearly all its major and minor correctional facilities. The courses follow course outlines developed and approved by the Florida Department of Education. Inmates are instructed and supervised in classrooms and workshops by over 150 full-time, state-certified vocational education instructors. Upon successfully completing a course, inmates are awarded certificates of completion. Some correctional facilities also offer vocational courses taught by local community college instructors. Students successfully completing such courses are awarded certificates of completion by the local participating community college. The following courses were offered in 1980 by the number of facilities indicated:¹⁰

- Agricultural power and machinery (1)
- Auto body repair and refinishing (5)
- Auto mechanics (12)
- Cabinetmaking and millwork (5)

Electric motor repair (2)
 Gasoline engine mechanics (9)
 Graphic arts (7)
 Ornamental horticulture (13)
 Plumbing and pipe fitting (7)
 Welding (7)
 Air conditioning and heating mechanics (10)
 Carpentry (8)
 Radio/television repair (4)
 Sewage plant operation (3)
 Electronics (4)
 Food service (5)
 Optical laboratory training (1)
 Masonry (8)
 Electric wiring (8)
 Drafting (4)
 Sheet metal work (1)
 Cosmetology (1)
 Shoe repair (1)
 General merchandise (1)
 Painting and decorating (1)
 Nursing assistance (1)
 Building maintenance (2)
 Aquaculture (1)
 Tailoring and dressmaking (1)
 Human services (1)
 Appliance repair (2)
 Office occupations (4)
 Upholstery (1)

Special Vocational Education Projects

Hendry Correctional Institution, at Immokalee, Florida, in conjunction with Integrated Aquatic Systems, Inc., established a program to raise catfish. In 1979, specially constructed ponds at the Institution were stocked with thirty thousand channel catfish. The training program for inmates includes production and processing catfish and sewage plant operation. The project is intended to help reduce an annual eight-million-dollar inmate food expenditure. In 1980, twenty thousand pounds of catfish were harvested.¹¹

Beginning in 1959, M. B. Jordan, a vocational agriculture teacher, instituted an ornamental horticulture training program at Union Correctional Institution, Raiford, Florida. A similar program is now conducted at twelve other major state correctional facilities. The six green houses at UCI contain about sixty thousand plants, including rare species of orchids. The plants are exhibited every year at the Florida State Fair in Tampa, and at other exhibits statewide. The plants are also used to beautify some three hundred state offices. Many of the approximately two hundred former inmates who have participated in the program have found similar employment on the outside. Some have opened their own nursery businesses, and at least one former inmate has worked for Disney World since it opened in 1971. The ornamental horticulture course is certified by the State Department of Education, and consists of a 200-hour, thirty-lesson program of instruction. The Florida Federation of Garden Clubs and other private agencies and individuals have helped support the program through donations of plants and money for equipment and green house construction and maintenance.¹²

Vocational Education: Individualized Manpower
Training System (IMTS)

Any inmate who wishes to enter a vocational education program or improve his employability skills, but who scores below grade level in language skills, reading, mathematics, and other subjects, can enroll in the remedial adult Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS), offered at ten major correctional institutions. Classroom space and equipment for the IMTS program is funded under a \$492,000 federal grant under Title II of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1976. The funding is distributed

through the State Department of Education, Division of Vocational Education.

IMTS is a competency based, self-paced instructional system using a combination of texts, programmed materials, simulations, and multimedia.

IMTS is conducted according to the following procedures:

a. Interview

A learning manager initiates the program for an inmate through an interview in which he assesses the individual's life situation, capabilities, and preferred learning interests.

b. Diagnose

The student undergoes a battery of tests. The results of the first test, known as LOCATOR, are immediately used to select the level of difficulty of the Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE). The final test, the Modular Analysis of Learning Difficulty (MALD), helps identify what skill areas need to be improved and establish competency priorities for mastering the skills.

c. Prescribe

Based on the test results, the learning manager can prescribe a wide variety of learning strategies and materials. The printed learning material is contained in Prescribing Catalogs. These catalogs satisfy the learning objectives identified by MALD and TABE. As far as possible, the material to be learned requires an active response from the learner.

d. Manage

Learning managers supervise the learning activities being carried out in a proper environment. They help motivate students and schedule learning experiences on an individualized basis.

e. Evaluate

Each instructional module contains pretests and posttests allowing for frequent feedback to the student on the progress of his work.

The IMTS program is comprised of four major learning components or modules. They are:

a. The Developmental Education Component

This module is designed to upgrade basic skills in language, mathematics, and reading comprehension.

b. The Complementary Skills Component

This module is intended to upgrade certain skills and knowledge necessary to function in everyday society. The skills stressed are: understanding community resources, occupational knowledge, consumer economics, mental and physical health, and government and law.

c. Employability Skills and Behavior Component

This module is concerned with improving motivation and shaping behavior. It seeks to improve employability habits and behaviors, in particular.

d. The Occupational Exploratory Component

This module offers career guidance and assistance in setting a career goal.¹³

Inmate Education and Florida's Community Colleges

In 1965, the first college level courses for inmates were offered at Union Correctional Institution in Raiford, by Lake City Community College.

The first inmate graduated from the college program in the following year. By 1979, sixteen of the state's public community colleges were conducting academic and vocational education programs at nearby correctional facilities. Inmates enrolled in community college education programs can work towards earning an Associate of Arts degree, an Associate of Science degree, an Adult Basic Education certificate or a Vocational Education certificate. Because of an articulation agreement between the state's community colleges and its nine public universities, inmates successfully completing an A.A. degree can, upon release, enter a state university at the junior level and work towards earning a bachelor's degree. Community college courses are conducted by full- and part-time faculty drawn from the local community college. In 1980, over twelve hundred inmates at twenty major correctional institutions in Florida were enrolled in community college courses. In that same year sixty-nine inmates received Associate of Arts or Associate of Science degrees, the most ever awarded.¹⁴

In 1980, a new Life Skills Program, jointly developed by the Division of Community Colleges and the Department of Corrections, was introduced in eight major correctional institutions by faculty from nearby community colleges. The purpose of the Life Skills program is to help inmates successfully adjust to incarceration and is organized around seven modules dealing with different stages of incarceration and release, including

1. Reception into the system
2. Assignment to a permanent location in the system
3. Pre-release training prior to being placed on work release
4. Pre-release
5. Work-release.
6. Parole and parole supervision
7. Probation

The first module is designed for presentation to inmates in their first six months of incarceration. The module is intended for use by small group interaction sessions guided by a "facilitator," emphasizing:

1. Self assessment skills
2. Principles of motivation
3. Personal values clarification
4. Developing personal responsibility
5. Describing and understanding personal feelings
6. Portraying one's self
7. Coping with changes in behavior
8. Enhancing personal communications skills
9. Giving and receiving feedback
10. Setting personal goals¹⁵

Accreditation of Florida Corrections

In 1981, all of Florida's major correctional institutions were accredited by the American Correctional Association's accreditation commission. Florida State Prison became the first maximum security prison in the nation to be accredited.¹⁶ In order to achieve accreditation, inspections are conducted by the commission and the conditions at the facilities compared to a set of 465 standards. Evaluation of inmate education plays a major role in determining whether correctional facilities measure up to the standards of the association. The association's Manual of Correctional Standards states that:

American prisons distinguish themselves from those of most other nations in their extensive investments in education and training. Justification for this expenditure is based upon the established fact that there is a high negative relationship between years of education and indices of delinquency and crime. It is reasoned, therefore, that by reducing the education deficiency of prison inmates, the need for crime and delinquency will be replaced by more socially acceptable aspirations.¹⁷

Library Services in Florida's Correctional Institutions

All of Florida's twenty-five major correctional facilities contain libraries, though only twenty are supervised by a full-time professional librarian. Nevertheless, during 1980 over 325,000 books were checked out. The libraries receive, on a regular basis, a wide spectrum of magazines, journals, and newspapers. Book purchases are also augmented by donations of used books from community colleges, local school districts, and volunteer service organizations.

As the result of a United States Supreme Court decision (Bounds vs. Smith), major law libraries have been established in seven Florida correctional institutions. Ten other institutions have minor law libraries and the rest have access to law libraries through a library loan agreement with the law library of the correctional institution nearest them.

Each such library is equipped with an up-to-date collection of pertinent law books and facilities for drawing up legal briefs. Each law library has a trained inmate law clerk.

The operation of the law libraries is supervised by the Department of Corrections Coordinator of Law Libraries. He is responsible for providing technical assistance as well as updating and equipping the libraries on a statewide basis. The coordinator is also responsible for training the inmate law clerks.¹⁸

Women Inmates and the Florida Correctional System

Women have been sentenced to serve time in the Florida penal system since the late 1870s. In the convict lease camps of that era, women shared the same miserable living conditions as their male counterparts.

It was only in 1914 that female offenders were confined in a separate compound in the new State Prison at Raiford. The authorities regarded the confined women as mental and moral inferiors to men. In order to please the all-male staff, female inmates acted out the role of child-women expected of them. In 1923, the prison's superintendent, J. S. Blich, invited a visiting reporter from Literary Digest magazine to tour the women inmates' compound at Raiford. The reporter observed that "there were three white women and some thirty Negresses. . . . As Superintendent Blich called, 'Hello,' I saw a young Negress open a wide mouth and shout: 'Oh Lawsy!' like a child."¹⁹ The Superintendent was in the habit of addressing women inmates of any age or color as "girls."

When a new correctional facility primarily intended for women was opened in 1956 at Lowell, Florida, it included a professionally staffed education department complete with classrooms, offices, and a library. Officially known as the Florida Correctional Institution (FCI), the new facility held 337 female offenders in 1959. In that year, educational programs were limited to academic courses up to the twelfth grade and sex-stereotyped vocational training courses such as:

- beauty culture
- sewing and garment manufacture
- laundry operations
- cooking
- waitressing
- hospital assistantship
- dental assistantship

The female inmates at FCI also operated a garment factory capable of producing fifteen thousand garments a month for use by other state institutions.

A serious problem noted in the First Biennial Report of the newly formed Florida Division of Corrections was the delay in offering educational courses due to "chiefly the lack of qualified female applicants who are willing to undertake correctional work."²⁰ In 1960, sixty-two female inmates at FCI were enrolled in school and another twenty had received high school diplomas during that year.

In 1970, a key punch training program was introduced at FCI. The inmate students were trained to operate encoder key tape machines performing job orders for the Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services Data Center. In that same year, a four-month computer training course was offered, breaking the tradition of offering female offenders only sex-stereotyped education. In a Florida State Senate Committee Staff Report on Criminal Justice (1974), it was noted that:

the relative number of programs available to the women in FCI is too small to be explained by size alone, and those programs that are offered reflect general societal stereotypes concerning the appropriate work for women.²¹

The report went on to say that some of the female inmates at FCI had expressed a desire to learn the higher-paying skills being taught to men.

In 1977, a high security correctional facility primarily for women was opened at Pembroke Pines, Florida. Known as Broward Correctional Institution (BCI), the facility contains an education department staffed with an administrative supervisor, education counselor, librarian, three classroom teachers, and five vocational instructors. Out of 285 female inmates confined at BCI in June of 1980, thirty-five were enrolled in academic courses and seventy-five were in vocational programs. Vocational activities were limited to food service and optical laboratory training.

The institution also provided an Individualized Manpower Training System (IMTS) for remedial work in the language arts and mathematics.²²

In 1980, Florida Correctional Institution offered vocational and academic programs for its 425 female inmates. The education department staff included three administrators, twenty teachers, and a librarian. About two-thirds of the inmates were enrolled in academic or vocational courses. Thirty-nine inmates were taking post-secondary level classes taught by personnel from nearby Central Florida Community College. Special educational courses aimed at enhancing social skills, such as the Life Skills Program and GO Laboratory, were also available.²³

Education for female offenders in Florida's state correctional system has made some important progress since 1956. Though vocational courses are still primarily sex stereotyped, FCI has introduced courses in gasoline engine mechanics and graphic arts. The availability of community college classes is a long overdue recognition that women inmates should also have a right to advanced educational opportunities.

Nevertheless, women inmates in Florida need additional attention to overcome their social and educational deficiencies. The nearly eight hundred black and white female inmates scored below the male inmates on I.Q. tests. The mean average for white males was 104.9; white females scored 98.9 and black females averaged 80.8.²⁴ These poor test scores may represent the extra burdens that females, especially those who are poor and belong to minorities, have to bear in an essentially male-dominated society.

Prison Industries in Florida's Correctional System

The growth of Florida's effort at inmate rehabilitation through education in the years up to and including 1980, was matched by the growth of the state's prison industries. A visitor to Florida's major correctional facilities would observe many of the inmates busy at a large variety of work assignments, including operating the facilities' power stations, machine and maintenance repair shops, food and sanitation services, and industrial-agricultural production.

Florida's state prison industries are monitored by the seven members of the Florida Prison Industry Commission, who are appointed by the governor. In its Annual Report for the fiscal year 1978-1979, the commission states that about two thousand inmates participated in fifty-five separate operations in sixteen correctional institutions. Inmate workers produced 150 different products. Agricultural production included the raising, slaughtering, and packing of poultry, beef, and swine. Inmates also grew farm crops and attended citrus groves. Industrial production included the manufacture of metal furniture, mattresses, inmate garments, canning vegetables, processing meat, and the production of live-stock feed. Industrial services operated key punch encoders and a printing plant, produced dental prosthetics and optical devices. The total dollar value of prison industry productivity in Florida has risen from about 8 million dollars in 1975, to over 18 million dollars in 1980.²⁵ In the same year, Florida ranked first in the nation in the number of its industrial prison programs, third in the sales value of the items produced, and fifth in the number of inmates participating. The department projects the introduction of nineteen more industrial programs within the next few years.²⁶

In order to assure the continued growth of industrial activities in the Florida correctional system, the Department of Corrections believes it needs to "maximize work programs including prison industries in order to eliminate idleness. There should be more linkages between vocational education and prison industries to enhance employability skills."²⁷

Since the beginning of the Wainwright era in 1962, Florida's prison industries and inmate education programs have kept pace with the state's increasingly diverse and sophisticated economy.

Conclusions

The years 1980 and 1981 may prove crucial to the future status of inmate rehabilitation through education. A new Republican administration in Washington, D.C., has vowed to "get tough" on crime while, at the same time, reducing or abolishing altogether many poverty and human services programs. A federal Task Force on Violent Crime reported to the new Republican President, Ronald Reagan, that the country needs more prisons and tougher sentencing laws.²⁸ Their recommendations are supported by statistics such as those appearing in Corrections magazine, showing a surge in the size of the prison population, resulting in "desperate" overcrowding. In its annual survey of prison populations, Corrections magazine reports that

during 1980 America's prison population grew at its fastest rate in three years. On January 1, 1981, federal and state correctional facilities held 320,583 adults. This is a 13,376-inmate increase--more than 4 percent--over January 1, 1980.²⁹

The New York Times reported that, "by and large, rehabilitation has again fallen out of favor and been replaced by the 'just-desserts'

theory: imprisonment meets the community's need for retribution following a serious offense."³⁰ Harry E. Allen and Clifford E. Simonsen, authors of Corrections in America, describe retribution as "the transfer of the vengeance motive from the individual to the state."³¹ Such notions about punishing rather than rehabilitating convicted felons may be making a come-back in America. The effect it might have on inmate rehabilitation programs in the future is disconcerting. The present efforts at cutting federal funds for a number of educational programs will have a decided impact on budgeting for inmate education in Florida.

As Florida gears up to expand its prison industries program by once more leasing inmate labor and prison facilities to private enterprise, it stands at a crossroads. The growing climate for retribution against convicted offenders combined with the temptation to exploit the prison work force has a long history and could be repeated again.³² The path back to punishment and hard labor is one direction. The other path leads to a humane correctional system in which inmates are given reasonable security and living space, academic and vocational training, and meaningful work for wages. A prison system is a social institution and like other social institutions it mirrors the prevailing values of the greater society in which it is located. In 1893, the chaplain for Florida's convicts addressed the Florida State Legislature in words worth recalling today:

I wish to express my convictions concerning the State's responsibility with its prisoners. The system of leasing is inhumane; in the nature of things it is wrong for the State to have a system of revenue at the severe expense of these unfortunate creatures. The men hiring them intend to make money by the operation; whether it makes them better citizens or not is nothing to those that work them. The State is bound in morals and humanity, while it punishes for crime and violation of law, to use reasonable and probable methods to reform and make them better people.³³

Notes

¹Department of Corrections, Overview: Organizational Structure (Tallahassee, Florida: January, 1980), p. 1.

²Department of Offender Rehabilitation, Overview: Organizational Structure (Tallahassee, Florida, 1975), p. 5.

³Department of Corrections, Organizational Charts (Tallahassee, Florida: July 1, 1979), p. 14a.

⁴Ibid., p. 16a.

⁵Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 28.

⁶Ibid., p. 50

⁷Ibid., pp. 50, 54; see also Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 66; Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1977-1978 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 57.

⁸Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Report (Tallahassee, Florida, October, 1980), pp. 3-4.

⁹Ibid., p. 4 and unnumbered chart of GED awards.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹¹Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 35.

¹²Gainesville Sun, June 23, 1981.

¹³Department of Corrections, Programs for Special Needs: IMTS Program Guide, First Draft (Tallahassee, Florida, April, 1980), pp. 1, 13-18.

¹⁴Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 5.

¹⁵Department of Corrections, Correctional Compass (Tallahassee, Florida, September, 1980), pp. 1, 5.

¹⁶Gainesville Sun, August 15, 1981.

¹⁷American Correctional Association, Manual of Correctional Standards (College Park, Maryland, American Correctional Association, 1975), p. 482.

¹⁸UCI Broadcast, Vol. 2, No. 1, "Florida's First Prison Law Library Training Class Completed at UCI" (Raiford, Florida, July 1978), p. 3. See also, Department of Corrections: Bureau of Educational Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 6.

¹⁹Literary Digest, July 28, 1923, p. 38.

²⁰Division of Corrections, First Report (Tallahassee, Florida, June 1960), p. 23.

²¹State Senate Committee on Criminal Justice, Staff Report on Corrections, Parole and Probation (Tallahassee, Florida, February 1974), p. 141.

²²Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 14.

²³Ibid., p. 18.

²⁴Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 54.

²⁵Department of Corrections: Prison Industries Commission, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 1; see also, Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida), p. 23.

²⁶Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1979-1980, Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 21.

²⁸Time Magazine, August 31, 1981, p. 19.

²⁹Kevin Krajick, "Annual Prison Population Survey: The Boom Resumes" Corrections Magazine, Vol. VII, No. 2, April 1981, p. 16.

³⁰New York Times, March 6, 1981.

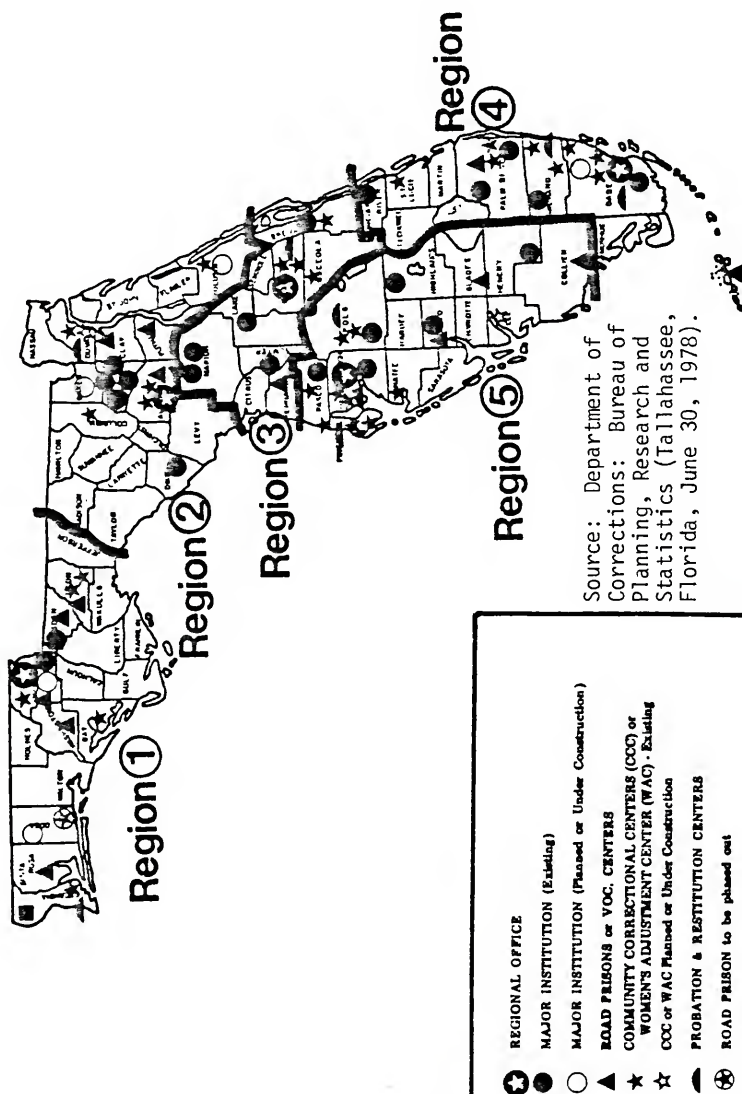
³¹Harry E. Allen and Clifford E. Simonsen, Corrections in America: An Introduction (3rd ed.), (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981), p. 74.

³²Gainesville Sun, March 10, 1981, editorial.

³³House Journal (Tallahassee, Florida, 1893), pp. 132-133.

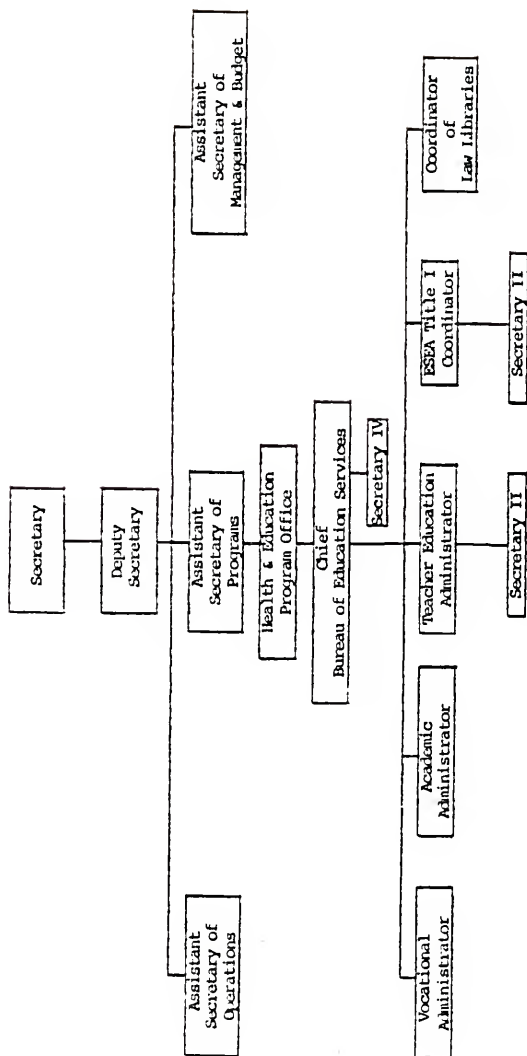
APPENDIX A

FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS REGIONAL MAP



APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS



Source: Department of Corrections (Tallahassee, Florida, 1979).

APPENDIX C

SURVEY OF FLORIDA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
MAJOR CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES: 1980

Major Prison Facilities of Region 1^a

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Apalachee Correctional Institution, Sneads, Florida (for medium/minimum first felony offenders under 25)	808	1188	1129	1949	44
River Junction Correctional Institution, Chattahoochee, Florida (for non-violent, medium and minimum custody grade offenders)	400	400	347	1974	14

Sources: Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), and Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida).

^aRegion 1 of the Department of Corrections is located in the northwest section of Florida and covers 16 county areas. The regional office is located in Marianna. The region includes two major prison facilities and twelve community facilities (including two road prisons and three vocational centers).

Major Prison Facilities of Region 2^a

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Baker Correctional Institution Olathee, Florida (for offenders under 25. All custody grades)	400	600	366	1978	14
Cross City Correctional Institution, Cross City, Florida (for all custody grades of male offenders)	296	391	387	1973	17
Florida State Prison, Starke Florida (for maximum security offenders)	1330	1480	1410	1960	13
Lawley Correctional Institution Lawley, Florida (for minimum custody older inmates)	552	832	431	1973	16
Reception and Medical Center Lake Butler, Florida (reception center for all custody grades of male offenders)	1458	1834	1368	1968	5
Union Correctional Institution Raiford, Florida (for all custody grade offenders)	1688	2589	2244	1914	34

Major Prison Facilities of Region 2 (continued)

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Lancaster Correctional Institution, Trenton, Florida (for medium and minimum grade youthful offenders)	312	312	235	1979	19

Sources: Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), and Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida).

^aRegion 2, the department's largest region, is located in the northeast section of Florida and encompasses twenty counties. The region includes five major institutions and ten community facilities. The major institutions of this region contain over 7,000 inmates or over one-third of the total inmate population in state penal institutions.

Major Prison Facilities of Region 3^a

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Brevard Correctional Institution Sharpes, Florida (for youthful offenders of all custody grades and under 25)	388	712	755	1976	27
Florida Correctional Institution, Lowell, Florida (for female offenders of all custody grades)	542	842	425	1956	25
Lake Correctional Institution Clermont, Florida (for all custody grade offenders)	413	438	394	1973	15
Marion Correctional Institution Lowell, Florida (for offenders of all custody grades)	570	897	824	1976	19
Sumter Correctional Institution Bushnell, Florida (for all custody grades of youthful offenders)	961	1047	954	1965	42

Source: Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), and Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida).

^aRegion 3, located in central Florida, covers a thirteen-county area reaching from the east coast to the west coast. The city of Orlando in Orange County is the headquarters of the regional office. The region contains five major institutions and six community facilities.

Major Prison Facilities of Region 4^a

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Broward Correctional Institution Pembroke Pines, Florida (primarily for female offenders of all custody grades)	303	555	285	1977	12
Dade Correctional Institution Homestead, Florida (for first offenders of all custody grades)	357	631	570	1976	20
Glades Correctional Institution Belle Glade, Florida (for all custody grades)	537	800	786	1932	15
Indian River Correctional Institution, Vero Beach, Florida (for minimum and medium first offenders under 20)	155	284	277	1976	9
Lantana Correctional Institution Lantana, Florida (for medium and minimum drug offenders up to age 26)	187	200	177	1975	6

Source: Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), and
Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980
(Tallahassee, Florida).

^aRegion 4 contains eight counties in the southeast coastal area of Florida, with five major institutions and ten community facilities. Regional headquarters is located in Miami, Florida.

Major Prison Facilities of Region 5^a

Name	Design Capacity	Maximum Capacity	Population 6/30/1980	Opening Date	Number of Education Staff
Avon Park Correctional Institution, Avon Park, Florida (holds inmates of all custody grades)	920	1245	1202	1951	27
Desoto Correctional Institution Arcadia, Florida (for youthful offenders of all custody grades)	468	579	646	1969	30
Polk Correctional Institution Polk City, Florida (for all custody grades)	384	576	553	1978	14
Hendry Correctional Institution Immokalee, Florida (for minimum custody offenders)	296	392	189	1979	2
Hillsborough Correctional Institution, Riverview, Florida (for minimum and medium youthful offenders)	210	360	357	1976	15
Zephyrhills Correctional Institution, Zephyrhills, Florida (for all custody grade offenders)	241	342	376	1977	4

Source: Department of Corrections, Annual Report: 1978-1979 (Tallahassee, Florida), and Department of Corrections: Bureau of Education Services, Educational Programs, 1979-1980 (Tallahassee, Florida).

^aRegion 5 covers fourteen counties in southwest Florida. The region contains six major institutions and thirteen community facilities. The regional office is located in Tampa, Florida.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, Harry E., and Clifford E. Simonsen. Corrections in America: An Introduction, 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981.
- American Correctional Association. Manual of Correctional Standards. College Park, Maryland: American Correctional Association, 1975.
- Babington, Anthony. The English Bastille: A History of Newgate Gaol and Prison Conditions in Britain, 1188-1902. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Bacon, Margaret. The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America. New York: Basic Books, 1969.
- Bennett, James V. The Florida State Correctional System: A Survey and Recommendations. Washington, D.C.: Federal Bureau of Prisons, 1946.
- Blitch, J. S. Florida's Prison System Today and Yesterday. Raiford, Florida.
- Brockway, Zebulon. Fifty Years of Prison Service. New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1912.
- Carper, N. Gordon. The Convict Lease System in Florida, 1866-1923. Ph.D. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1964.
- Davis, James. Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, The Prison Problem in Florida: A Survey by the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration. Washington, D.C.: Prison Industries Reorganization Administration, 1939.
- Durant, Will, and Ariel Durant. The Age of Voltaire: The Story of Civilization, Vol. 9. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965.
- Endwright, David K. A Plan for Expansion and Development of Education Departments of the Florida Division of Corrections. Tallahassee, Florida: Florida Division of Corrections, 1967.
- Erikson, Kai T. Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.
- Eriksson, Torsten. The Reformers: A Historical Survey of Pioneer Experiments in the Treatment of Criminals. New York: Elsevier, 1976.
- Florida Adjutant General's Department. "Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida: 1872." Assembly Journal. Tallahassee, Florida.

- Florida Adjutant General's Department. "Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida: 1873." Senate Journal. Tallahassee, Florida.
- Florida Adjutant General's Department. "Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida: 1874." Senate Journal. Tallahassee, Florida.
- Florida Adjutant General's Department. "Annual Report of the Warden of the State Prison of Florida: 1875 and 1876." Senate Journal. Tallahassee, Florida.
- Florida Articles of Incorporation. Prison Enterprises, Education and Rehabilitation, Inc. Tallahassee, Florida, 1981.
- Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research. Florida Population Statistics: 1970-1980. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1981.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Twelfth Biennial Report: 1911-1912. Tallahassee, Florida, 1913.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Fourteenth Biennial Report: 1915-1916. Tallahassee, Florida, 1917.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Seventeenth Biennial Report: 1921-1922. Tallahassee, Florida, 1923.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Nineteenth Biennial Report: 1925-1926. Tallahassee, Florida, 1927.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Twenty-Third Biennial Report: 1933-1934. Tallahassee, Florida, 1935.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Thirty-Third Biennial Report: 1953-1954. Tallahassee, Florida, 1955.
- Florida Department of Agriculture. Prison Report by Commissioner of Agriculture, Nathan Mayo. Tallahassee, Florida, 1955.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Annual Report: 1977-1978. Tallahassee, Florida, 1979.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Annual Report: 1978-1979. Tallahassee, Florida, 1980.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Annual Report: 1979-1980. Tallahassee, Florida, 1981.
- Florida Department of Corrections, Bureau of Education Services. Educational Programs, 1979-1980. Tallahassee, Florida.

- Florida Department of Corrections. Correctional Compass, August-September, 1962. Tallahassee, Florida.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Correctional Compass, September, 1980. Tallahassee, Florida.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Division of Community Colleges-Department of Corrections Cooperative Efforts. Tallahassee, Florida, 1979.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Organizational Charts. Tallahassee, Florida, 1979.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Overview: Organizational Structure. Tallahassee, Florida, 1980.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Prison Industries Commission Annual Report: 1978-1979. Tallahassee, Florida, 1979.
- Florida Department of Corrections. Programs for Special Needs: IMTS Program Guide, First Draft. Tallahassee, Florida, 1980.
- Florida Department of Law Enforcement. Annual Report. Tallahassee, Florida, 1980.
- Florida Department of Offender Rehabilitation. Overview of Education Programs in the Department of Offender Rehabilitation. Tallahassee, Florida, 1978.
- Florida Department of Offender Rehabilitation. Overview: Organizational Structure, 1975.
- Florida Division of Corrections. A Comprehensive Plan for Academic and Vocational Education. Tallahassee, Florida, 1975.
- Florida Division of Corrections. First Biennial Report: 1957-1959. Tallahassee, Florida, 1960.
- Florida Division of Corrections. Second Biennial Report: 1959-1960. Tallahassee, Florida, 1960.
- Florida Division of Corrections. Third Biennial Report: 1960-1962. Tallahassee, Florida, 1962.
- Florida Division of Corrections. Fourth Biennial Report: 1962-1964. Tallahassee, Florida, 1964.
- Florida Division of Corrections. Seventh Biennial Report: 1968-1970. Tallahassee, Florida, 1970.

Florida Education Department Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 4. June 1960.
Raiford, Florida: Florida State Prison.

Florida Division of Corrections. First Annual Report: 1972-1973.
Tallahassee, Florida.

"Florida Governor's Message." Senate Journal. Tallahassee, Florida, 1874.

"Florida Governor's Message." Assembly Journal. Tallahassee, Florida,
1883.

"Florida Governor's Message." Assembly Journal. Tallahassee, Florida,
1868.

"Florida Governor's Message." Senate Journal. Tallahassee, Florida, 1868.

"Florida Governor's Message." Assembly Journal. Tallahassee, Florida,
1883.

"Florida Governor's Message." Assembly Journal. Tallahassee, Florida,
1895.

Florida House of Representatives Committee on Corrections, Probation and
Parole. The Florida Correctional Process: Yesterday, Today and
Tomorrow. Tallahassee, Florida, 1978.

Florida Raiford Periscope, Vol. 1, No. 6, September 1937. Raiford,
Florida.

Florida Raiford Periscope, Vol. 1, No. 11, November 1937. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Raiford Periscope, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1939. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Raiford Record, Vol. 5, No. 3, March-April, 1943. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Raiford Record, Vol. 5, No. 4, May-June, 1943. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Raiford Record, Vol. 7, No. 4, July-August, 1945. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Raiford Record, Vol. 20, No. 4, July-August, 1958. Raiford, Florida.

Florida Select Committee on Corrections of the Florida Legislative Council.
Florida's Correctional System. Tallahassee, Florida, 1955.

Florida State Senate Committee on Criminal Justice. Staff Report on
Corrections, Parole and Probation. Tallahassee, Florida, 1974.

Florida State Prison Report: 1892-1893. Tallahassee, Florida, 1894.

Florida Statutes. Tallahassee, Florida, 1981.

Florida UCI Broadcast. "Florida's First Prison Law Library Training Class Completed at UCI," Vol. 2, No. 1. Raiford, Florida, 1978.

Fryman, Mildred L. "Career of a Carpetbagger: Malachi Martin in Florida." Florida Historical Society Quarterly, 56 (January, 1978), pp. 317-338.

Gainesville Sun, March 10, 1981.

Gainesville Sun, June 23, 1981.

Gainesville Sun, July 16, 1981.

Gainesville Sun, August 15, 1981.

Hacker, Louis M. The Triumph of American Capitalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

Howard, John. An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe, 2nd ed. Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1973.

Ignatieff, Michael. A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Jacksonville Sentinel, February 6, 1869.

Killinger, George. Penology: The Origins of Corrections in America. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1973.

Krajick, Kevin. "Annual Prison Population Survey: The Boom Resumes." Corrections Magazine, Vol. VII, No. 2, April 1981.

LaGodna, Martin M. The Florida State Department of Agriculture During the Administration of Nathan Mayo, 1923-1960. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Florida, 1970.

Laws of Florida. Tallahassee, Florida, 1957.

Laws of Florida. Tallahassee, Florida, 1974.

Laws of Florida. Tallahassee, Florida, 1975.

Lewis, Orlando F. The Development of American Prisons and Prison Customs, 1776-1845. Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1967.

Literary Digest, July 28, 1923.

McKelvey, Blake. American Prisons: A Study in American Social History Prior to 1915. Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1977.

Merritt, James C. Quoted in The Florida Correctional Process. 1978.

Newsweek, July 20, 1981.

New York State Correctional Law. 1847.

New York Times, March 6, 1981.

Plaidy, Jean. The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth and End, Vol. 1.
New York: The Citadel Press, 1967.

Polyani, Karl. The Great Transformation. Boston: Rinehart and Co.,
Beacon Press, 1957.

Powell, J. C. The American Siberia; or, Fourteen Years Experience in a
Southern Convict Camp. Philadelphia: H. J. Smith and Co., 1891.

"Prison Enterprises, Education and Rehabilitation," Articles of Incorporation.
Tallahassee, Florida, 1981.

Rembar, Charles. The Law of the Land: The Evolution of Our Legal System.
New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980.

Richardson, Joe M. The Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877.
Tallahassee, Florida: The Florida State Studies, No. 46, 1965.

Roberts, Albert R. Source Book on Prison Education: Past, Present and
Future. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1971.

Robinson, Louis. Penology in the United States. Philadelphia: John C.
Winston and Co., 1921.

Rusche, Georg and Otto Kirchheimer. Punishment and Social Structure.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Salgado, Gamini. The Elizabethan Underworld. London: J. M. Dent and
Sons, 1977.

Sellin, Thorsten. Slavery and the Penal System. New York: Elsevier
Publishing Co., 1976.

Shofner, Jerrell. Nor Is it Over Yet. Gainesville, Florida: University
of Florida Press, 1974.

Sylvester, Sawyer F. Jr., ed. The Heritage of Modern Criminology.
Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972.

Tallahassee Daily Democrat, May 12, 1923.

Tallahassee Democrat, May 22, 1955.

Tallahassee Democrat, December 16, 1958.

Tallahassee Democrat, April 16, 1959.

- Tallahassee Sentinel, July 24, 1869.
- Tampa Tribune, September 26, 1945.
- Tampa Tribune, September 28, 1945.
- Tampa Tribune, October 3, 1945.
- Tawney, R. H. Tudor Economic Documents, Vols. 2 and 3. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.
- Tebeau, Charlton. A History of Florida. Miami, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971.
- Teeters, Negley K. They Were in Prison: A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937. Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Co., 1937.
- Time Magazine, August 31, 1981.
- Trevelyan, G. M. History of England. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952.
- Upton, R. E., Jr. An Approach to Rehabilitation thru Education. Raiford, Florida: Division of Corrections, 1959.
- Van Der Slice, Austin. "Houses of Correction." Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, 29 (May-June, 1936--March-April, 1937), pp. 45-67.
- Wainwright, Louie L. A History of Florida's Correctional System. M.S. Thesis, Nova University, 1978.
- Wallace, John. Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1964.
- Wines, E. C. Transactions of the National Congress of Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, 1870. Albany, New York: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1871.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Leonard H. Roberts was born in New York City on April 13, 1934. He attended New York City's public schools and graduated from New York University in 1955, with a Bachelor of Science degree in Art Education. Following two years of active duty in the U.S. Air Force, and two years of teaching in the New York City public school system, Mr. Roberts joined the Boston publishing firm of Allyn and Bacon in 1959, as a textbook salesman. In 1961 he was appointed college textbook editor in education and psychology. For the next twelve years he served as a college textbook editor in the physical, biological and social sciences for several national publishing firms.

In 1973 Mr. Roberts returned to college in order to work towards a Ph.D. in foundations of education. While doing so, he earned a Masters of Education in social science education at the University of Central Florida, and an Educational Specialist degree in post-secondary curriculum and instruction from the University of Florida. Mr. Roberts is presently an adjunct instructor at Lake City Community College, Lake City, Florida.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



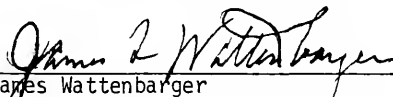
Rodman Webb, Chairman
Associate Professor of Foundations
of Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Arthur J. Newman
Professor of Foundations of Education

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



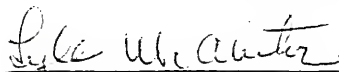
James Wattenbarger
Professor of Educational Administration
and Supervision

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



William Woodruff
Graduate Research Professor of History

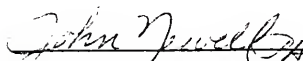
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Lyle McAlister
Distinguished Service Professor of History

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Foundations of Education in the College of Education and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1981


Chairman, Foundations of
Education

Dean for Graduate Studies
and Research

